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ART. I.—ENGLISH SCHOOL LIFE.

*The Great Schools of England; by Howard Staunton. London: 1865.*

THERE are few things so charming in recent English fiction as its recollections of School Life. How lovingly the pen of Thackeray lingers over the last scenes of Colonel Newcome's checkered life, when the old soldier, so true, so tender, so magnanimous, bowed with misfortune, stung with unmerited reproach, finds rest at last within the familiar walls which had so often echoed his boyish shouts! Although the great novelist persists in speaking of the place as the Grayfriars, the minute description shows that not the Charter-House is what he has in mind. The vividness with which the quaint inner life of the old school is pictured, the elaborate detail, and the evident feeling with which every feature is recalled, leave no room for doubt that he is giving a cherished chapter out of the experience of his own boyhood. It were ungracious to measure the debt we owe to the great masters who have done so much to delight and teach us, and due him, especially, who, in a moment, and in the twinkling of an eye, was snatched away from us, the mystery of his own half-finished tale fading away in that

darker mystery that rounds our little lives; but what is there in Dickens that, for noble and sustained pathos, equals the description of Colonel Newcome's death?

The Charter-House, it must be remembered, like more than one of the great educational foundations which are the boast of England, is at once an asylum and a school. Those of our readers familiar with the graphic pages of Froissart, will recall the gallant Sir Walter Manny, one of the earliest Companions of the Garter. At a time when the plague raged terribly in London, this good knight bought a piece of ground, without the bar of Smithfield, that he might provide a burial-place for the poorer citizens. Here, likewise, he built a chapel; and years later, coming back from the French wars full of honor as of years, the pious warrior founded, on the same site, a Priory for twenty-four Carthusian monks. The name chosen by Sir Walter for his Priory, the *Chartreux*, borrowed from the *Grande Chartreux*, the earliest foundation of the order, was by degrees corrupted into Charter-House. At the Reformation, the monastery, sharing the fate of all similar institutions then existing in England, was dissolved, and the Prior, for speaking somewhat too freely of Mr. Froude's favorite hero, was hanged, drawn and quartered. The monastery estate, after passing through various hands, at last became the property of that luckless Duke of Norfolk, who lost his head for joining in one of the numberless conspiracies connected with Mary, Queen of Scots. Under the tiles of the Charter-House was found the cipher that completed the chain of evidence against him. His lands were, however, restored to his family, and the old Priory of Sir Walter Manny fell to the Duke's fourth son, who, by James I, was created Earl of Suffolk. In 1611 the property was purchased by Thomas Sutton, a great London merchant, rich and childless, who conceived the noble purpose of converting the splendid mansion into an asylum for poor and aged men, and a school for friendless boys. Such was the origin of the famous establishment where Addison, and Steele, and Wesley, and Blackstone, and Lord Ellenborough, and General Havelock, and the two historians of Greece, Thirlwall and Grote, and John Leech, and Thackeray, and a host of others were taught, where boys still "plod their weary way" through the pages of Herodotus and Cæsar, and old gentlemen of decayed fortunes still find an honorable retreat. On December

12th, a day solemnly observed in commemoration of the Founder, an appropriate service is held in the chapel, followed by a Latin oration from the senior boy on the foundation, and a dinner in the great hall, once the banqueting-room of the Duke of Norfolk. Who that has once read can ever forget the description of old Colonel Newcome, seated, on Founder's day, among the black-coated pensioners, his order of the Bath, the sole remaining evidence of his former rank, glistening on his breast, his gray head bowed upon his prayer-book, while in strange contrast, on the opposite benches, where in years gone by he had so often sat himself, were seated rows of cherry-checked boys, each as merry and as careless as he had ever been, their heads filled with visions of home and holidays, now mingling their clear voices with the tremulous accents of the old pensioners, in the responses which so many successive generations had uttered, now listlessly gazing at the quaint devices on the Founder's tomb, "where the carved effigy of Thomas Sutton, in ruff and gown, seemed waiting the great Final Examination?" And then, with what delicate touches is portrayed the cheerful resignation of the old soldier, accepting at the hands of a former schoolmate this last refuge, feeling that here would be a fit place, when his career was over, to hang up his sword, to humble his soul, and to wait cheerfully for the end, here, where as a boy he had dreamed so many bright, happy dreams!

And how gently, at last, in his quiet retreat, the end came to that chastened soul! We must quote Thackeray's own words:

"At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll, and Thomas Newcome's hands, outside the bed, feebly beat a time. And just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile stole over his face, and he lifted up his head a little, and quickly said, 'adsum,' and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called; and lo! he, whose heart was as that of a little child, had answered to his name and stood in the presence of his Master."

We know of nothing that deserves to be compared with this save the closing chapter of *Tom Brown*, that tells of his sorrowful visit to Rugby after the death of Dr. Arnold. There were the old quadrangle, the familiar cricket field. But no flag was flying on the round-tower; the school-house windows were closed. As he entered the portal beneath which he had so often passed, and glanced at the silent benches where he had so often sat, the memories of eight years of school-boy life came throbbing through

his brain, and his heart sank, oppressed with the heavy sense of a past that could never come back. He groaned aloud, and walking sorrowfully down to the lowest bench, seated himself on the very seat which he remembered to have sat upon the first Sunday that he spent at Rugby. Then as form after form of his old school-fellows seemed to reappear,

"He rose up once more, and walked up to the steps of the altar; and while the tears flowed freely down his cheeks, knelt down humbly and hopefully, to lay down there his share of a burden which had proved itself too heavy for him to bear in his own strength."

For natural, manly feeling there is little to choose between these two pictures, but we have placed them side by side, not for the purpose of making a comparison between them, but to ask what lends such indescribable charm to the school-life of an English boy, that its memories are so tenderly recalled. We may search in vain the literature of any other country for similar descriptions. And it cannot but be deserving of inquiry, why the literature of England has embalmed with such loving care experiences which most people seem so willing to forget. Literature, when it deserves the name, is the simple expression of a nation's life, and if it bears a characteristic stamp, it can only be because moulded by some characteristic element of the national character. Much has been written, during the past dozen years, about the Great Schools of England, and on the basis of an elaborate Parliamentary report, a leading teacher of our own country spared no pains to show that the education given in them was little more than worthless. They have furnished a conspicuous mark to educational reformers, and have been held up as shining illustrations of everything which a really good school ought not to be. They have been derided, either for teaching things that were not worth knowing, or for teaching after such a wretched method, that the subjects in which they professed to give instruction were mastered only by the merest fraction of the hundreds who wasted the golden years of youth within their walls. Aside from sending to the Universities a small annual crop of prize-men, they serve, it is said, no other purpose than to coat with a thin social varnish, and develop a surprising taste for athletic sports. They turn out gentlemen, in short, and cricket players, but beyond this accomplish very little. A beggarly account, it must be confessed, for institutions enjoying



princely revenues, employing large staffs of teachers, and gathering the very flower of English youth. But if this be all, how shall we account for the fond enthusiasm with which the days of school-life are so frequently recalled? How shall we explain the fact that these wasted years of intellectual vacuity, and droning inattention, are surrounded with such a halo of grateful memories; that a course of discipline so strangely regardless of all that touches the highest culture of mind and heart, is pictured in after years with such unaffected feeling? Without in the least blinding our eyes to the great and obvious defects in the details of management in these institutions, must we not still acknowledge that there is something in the impress which their training leaves, which cannot be detected by a mere formal inquisition into their methods of instruction, something that will not reveal itself at the call of a Parliamentary Commission?

The Great Schools of England are a part of English history, and a part of English social life. The fame of the two sister Universities has too exclusively concentrated attention upon them, as the seats of English culture; but the flowers which bloom upon the banks of the Cam and the Isis are transplanted from other soil. It is in the Great Schools that the seeds are sown. And if we would comprehend the distinguishing features of English character, not less than the distinguishing features of English scholarship, we must make ourselves acquainted with the ways, and imbue ourselves with the traditions of these lesser springs. There is hardly a characteristic that marks the university culture, that may not be traced back to the Public Schools. The studies, the sports, the pervading tone, are the same in both. For the two great English Universities are not so much Universities in the French or German sense, as federations of separate colleges, each one of which, in its internal structure, and general organization, finds its nearly complete counterpart in the collegiate foundations of which the Great Schools are the outgrowth.

Nowhere, in fact, out of England, do we find such foundations. With us a Public School means a school supported by the public, but the institutions known in England as the Great Public Schools are distinct corporations, resembling in that respect our endowed academies. The well-known academies at Exeter and at Andover, where so many of our leading scholars received their early train-

ing, are our nearest approach to the English schools. The institutions to which the term Great Public Schools is distinctively applied, are ten in number, there being more than double this number of colleges at Oxford, exclusive of what are called the halls. Each of these schools has the exclusive management of its own affairs, subject only to the supreme authority of Parliament. In no other country do we find a system precisely resembling this. A French lyceum is an institution under the direct supervision of the State. If the famous institution at Soreze furnished a partial exception to this remark, it still fell very far short of an English public school. So the German Gymnasium is a public school in one sense. Schulpforte, and one or two similar establishments, alone furnish the remotest analogy with the English system.

A salient trait of English character is its sturdy reverence for tradition, and naturally no small part of the social prestige of the English schools arises from the halo with which antiquity surrounds them. They are not the creations of a day, but the outgrowth of centuries. Eton, the foremost of the graceful sisterhood, dates her beginning far back amid the bloody strife of York and Lancaster. As early as 1440, she was founded by "Holy Henry," under the name of the "Blessed Marie of Etone beside Windsore." Windsor was Henry's birth-place, and he was hardly twenty when he conceived the noble scheme which alone has caused his name to be immortal. His glaring incapacity in the management of affairs of State, strips his public career of interest. The wars in France, the fields of St. Alban's, of Towton, and of Barnet, are now hardly remembered by name, but the school which Henry so thoughtfully founded within sight of his proud keep has outlived changes of dynasty, of empire, of religious faith, and growing, from year to year, in wealth, in splendor, in influence, is, to-day, without doubt, the most glorious and durable monument that commemorates any English king.

No English school can rival Eton in its roll of illustrious names. Not to mention some of an earlier period, it was here that Sir Robert Walpole gained that skill in Latin which gave him so much advantage with a sovereign who could speak no English, and here Bolingbroke acquired the love of letters that did so much to solace disgrace and exile. At Eton the elder Pitt spent his boyhood, and when borne fainting from the House of Lords, after uttering

his memorable words of prophecy and warning, it is said that he could summon back nothing sweeter to soothe the last lingering weeks of life, than the memories of his school days. Lord North, too, whose real character was so strangely unlike that which the popular opinion of America represented, was an Etonian; and Charles James Fox, unquestionably the best debater the House of Commons has ever seen, who, after spending a night at cards, and losing unheard-of sums, would be found the next morning, on a sofa, absorbed with one of Virgil's Eclogues; and the Marquis Wellesley, a renowned writer of Latin verse, regarded by some as superior in faculty to his more famous brother, the victor of Waterloo; and Earl Grey, who carried through Parliament the first Reform Bill; and Lord Holland, not less noted than his uncle, Mr. Fox, for his love of the Latin classics, and who used to gather at Holland House those famous coteries of philosophers and wits which Macaulay has so graphically described; and George Canning, whose sparkling and delicate irony was so thoroughly characteristic of the highly educated orator; and the late Earl Derby, who gave such convincing proof of his early training, in his accurate rendering of the *Iliad*; and the present Premier, whose equally abundant scholarship has borne its fruit in his *Juventus Mundi*. Among warriors, Lord Cornwallis, whom we Americans cannot dissociate from Yorktown, but who was really a very accomplished man, and the Duke of Wellington, both fought their first battles on the Eton play-ground. Among historians may be mentioned Hallam; and among poets, Waller, Gray, and Shelley. Eton is, indeed, the Muses' seat, by far the most poetic in her associations of all the English schools.

There are few lines in our language more familiar, at least to scholars, than the Ode of Gray, "On a Distant Prospect of Eton College," the first of his English poems that appeared in print. Few ever stood on the great terrace of Windsor Castle, and surveyed that unrivalled landscape "of grove, of lawn, of mead," without having these lines brought to mind. At first, it is said, they attracted little notice, but we confess that to us they always seemed marked by a far deeper and truer feeling than the more elaborate and popular "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." They seem genuinely tinged with that vein of melancholy that steals through every man's breast when he revisits the scenes of child-

hood, and, as memory calls back the friendly throng, forever scattered, who shared his youthful sports and studies, sees the faces once so innocent and fresh that are now furrowed with care, or sharpened with sorrow, or mouldering in death. In the case of Gray this natural sadness was heightened by the morbid depression to which his sensitive spirit and secluded habits made him peculiarly predisposed. There is nothing that he has written that seems so truly the language of his heart. It is the earliest in that series of touching and beautiful productions which made up what may be termed the Literature of English School Life.

That the ardent love of Etonians for the dreamy quadrangle, where, with "Henry's holy shade," there seems still to linger so much of the poetic charm of the middle age, is not mere affectation, was proved in a striking manner in the Marquis Wellesley, who, at the close of his long and brilliant career, requested that he might be buried in Eton chapel. It is related that unwonted tears streamed down the cheeks of the Iron Duke as he stood by the grave and watched the coffin of his brother, while it sank slowly through the pavement, and vanished forever from his sight. How much more touching such a wish than the desire of Nelson to be laid in Westminster Abbey. Nor was this a solitary instance. Lord Ellenborough, who was educated at the Charter-House, after achieving the highest honors of the bar, made, at his death, a similar request. On his monument in the chapel, the chapel which Thackeray so feelingly describes, it is recorded, "that in grateful remembrance of the advantages he had derived through life from his education upon the foundation of the Charter-House, he desired to be buried in this church." William Robert Spencer, whom Lord Byron called the Poet of Society, and some of whose affecting lines are said to have been among the last that lingered in the memory of Sir Walter Scott, also made it his last request that he should be buried in Harrow Church. Fancy, if you can, an American school-boy expressing such a wish.

But older even than Eton is Winchester, which reveres as its founder, not a crowned monarch, but a mitred bishop. The famous William of Wykeham, who obtained the See of Winchester in 1366, soon after formed the plan of founding at his cathedral city, a grammar school, which might serve as a nursery for the college which he designed to build at Oxford. Hence the boys of Winchester bear, to this day, the name of Wykehamists. "His de-

sign," says his biographer, Bishop Lowth, "was no less than to provide for the perpetual maintenance and instruction of two hundred scholars; to afford them a liberal support, and to lead them through a perfect course of education. It properly and naturally consisted of two parts, rightly forming two establishments, the one subordinate to the other. The design of one was to lay the foundations of science; that of the other to raise and complete the superstructure." Thus the scheme included a college and a school. The college, still known as New College, was founded at Oxford in 1380. The first stone of the school was laid seven years later. The regulations prescribed by Wykeham for his school were afterwards adopted by Henry VI. at Eton. No school in England, and with justice, is so loyal to the memory of its founder. Sir Roundell Palmer has well expressed the veneration of "his seventy faithful boys."

"Still for their daily orisons resounds the matin chime,—  
Still linked in holy brotherhood, St. Catherine's steep they climb;  
Still to their Sabbath worship they troop by Wykeham's tomb—  
Still in the summer twilight sing their sweet song of home."

We dwell with the more pleasure on these details because the origin of the Great Schools of England is one of the most interesting, as well as one of the most creditable chapters of her history. The beginnings of three we have already traced. That of the famous Westminster school is more obscure. While in its present organization it is the junior of both Winchester and Eton, the statutes now in force dating from the siege of Elizabeth, yet there is no doubt from a far more ancient period, a grammar school was connected with the old monastery of St. Peter. If we may credit Ingulph, not, to be sure, the best authority for an historical fact, there was a school of some sort at Westminster in the time of Edward the Confessor. The statement, however, will not seem in the least unlikely, when we bear in mind that during the Middle Age there existed only monastery schools. But be this as it may, there is no doubt that a grammar school existed at Westminster in the reign of Edward III. At the confiscation of the monastery of St. Peter Henry VIII. included the school in his draught for the new establishment of the See of Westminster, but under Mary it was allowed to languish. St. Paul's school, on the other hand, was a genuine child of the Reformation. Its founder,

Dr. John Colet, the friend of Erasmus, was not less devoted than the illustrious author of the "Praise of Folly," to all good learning. Colet was London-born at a time when to be born and bred in London was counted almost equivalent to noble birth. After receiving the best education the age could give, and having been further disciplined by extensive foreign travel, Colet was raised, in 1505, to the influential position of Dean of St. Paul's. Coming, soon after, into the possession of an ample fortune, he determined to found a grammar school, as near as possible to the cathedral. It was characteristic of that age of innovation that he decided not to entrust the management of his school to any ecclesiastical body. "After he had finished all," so Erasmus tells us, "he left the perpetual care and oversight of the estate, and government of it, not to the clergy, nor to the Bishop, not to the Chapter, nor to any great Minister at Court, but amongst the married laymen, to the Company of Mercers, men of probity and reputation." And the reason given was, that he found less corruption in such a body of citizens than in any others.

Merchant Taylors', another famous London school, owes its foundation to the munificence of the ancient "Company of Merchant Taylors," one of those curious Guilds which date so far back into the Middle Age, and for which the metropolis of England has been especially renowned. Although its name would hardly give promise of such distinction, this corporation bears on its roll the names of no less than ten English kings, and of dukes, and earls, and lords of less degree, innumerable. In 1561, the company purchased a spacious mansion, which had been in turn tenanted by several noble families, and established in it their well-endowed institution. By the original statutes, it was ordained that the "High Master" "should be a man in body whole, sober, discrete, honest, virtuous, and learned in good and cleane Latine literature, and also in Greeke, yf such may be gotten." With noble liberality it was further ordered that the scholars, the number of whom was limited to two hundred and fifty, should be "of all nations and countries indifferently."

Harrow, now for a long time one of the most aristocratic of the English schools, had an origin far humbler than any of those we have described. In the reign of Elizabeth, an honest yeoman, named John Lyon, conceived the project of establishing a Free School in his native village. In 1571 he procured a



charter, but the school was not formally established until 1590. According to the inscription on Lyon's tombstone, his original plan was somewhat comprehensive, the conveyance of land to the corporation having been for "founding a free grammar schoole in the parish, to have continuance for ever, and for maintenance thereof, and for releaffe of the poore, and of some poore scholers in the Unversyties, repairinge of highwayes, and other good and charitable uses." To this day the body-corporate bears the name of "The Keepers and Governors of the School called the Free Grammar School of John Lyon, in the village of Harrow-upon-the-Hill, in the countie of Middlesex." Of the "bold yeomanry" of England, who has left behind him a nobler monument than John Lyon? Four years before Lyon obtained his charter, a wealthy citizen of London, sharing that impulse for promoting sound education, which was so marked a characteristic of the Reformation, determined to set apart a portion of his property for the founding of a Free School and Almshouse in his native village. By a codicil to his will, Sheriff substituted for his money bequest, a tract of about eight acres of open pasture land, lying half a mile outside of London. This pasture-land, then almost valueless, now produces five thousand pounds per annum, and from it is derived the chief revenue of the school which "Tom Brown" has made so familiar to all who read the English language. Shrewsbury, the most picturesquely placed of all the English schools, was established, about the middle of the sixteenth century, by the corporation of the town, under the name of "The Free Grammar School of King Edward the Sixth." It was not, however, opened until four years after the accession of Elizabeth, when it speedily became one of the most flourishing in England. Christ's Hospital, so familiar to all readers of Charles Lamb, was founded by Edward the Sixth, being moved thereto, it is said, by a noble sermon of Bishop Ridley. The site of the Grayfriars' monastery was selected for the building. The peculiar dress prescribed for the boys has caused the institution to be commonly known as the Blue Coat School.

It is impossible to read this noble record without being struck with the various origin of the Great English Schools. They have been sometimes loosely attributed to the influence of the Reformation, but three of the most famous were in existence before the



sixteenth century. Eton and Christ's Hospital, the most aristocratic and the least aristocratic on the list, owe their foundation to the two most saintly kings that England has seen since Edward the Confessor. One of the wealthiest and most illustrious, Winchester, traces its origin to a Bishop, but himself of humble origin. Westminster, in its present form a royal creation, is undoubtedly an outgrowth of monastic piety. St. Paul's was founded by one of the leaders of the English Reformation; the Charter House by a great London merchant; Harrow, by a humble yeoman; Rugby, by a country boy who had become a London citizen; Shrewsbury, by the burghers of a country town, nobly mindful of something higher than mere material interests. It would be far wide of the truth to suppose that these schools were intended for the upper class, or that this class has derived from them the greatest benefit.

Running back as they do to the days of the bard,

“that left half told

The story of Cambuscan bold,”

the annals of these schools are emblazoned with the brightest names in English literature. On the roll of Shrewsbury shines that of Sir Philip Sidney, whose “Defence of Poesie” speaks for the generous nurture given at that day by the banks of the “swift Severn.” A letter from Sidney’s “loving Father,” sent him while at school, to which his mother adds a postscript closing with the words, “Farewell, my little Philip,” lets us into the very heart of the beautiful childhood of this matchless hero. Winchester boasts Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Thomas Browne, both excellent types of broad religious culture. Westminster reckons in her list the name of “rare Ben Jonson,” and carved in bold letters on an oaken board may be read the youthful signature of “glorious John Dryden.” It was at Westminster that a fearless school-boy, afterwards the famous Dr. South, read aloud in his turn the usual prayers for the King, on the very morning that His Majesty’s head was taken off before the palace of Whitehall. Milton laid at St. Paul’s the broad foundations of his superb scholarship, seldom retiring to bed, as he tells us, till after midnight; and true to the traditions of this noble growth of the Reformation, in later years he counted it a shame for a scholar to hold himself aloof from a contest “with which all Europe rang from side to side.” A century later there came to this same school a boy,

who afterwards became famous as Sir Philip Francis, and who seems, according to the results of the curious investigation that has recently been made, to be undoubtedly entitled to the long disputed honors of Junius. At Harrow Lord Byron studied, that is when the fancy seized him, for he himself tells us, "at school I was capable of great sudden exertions, (such as thirty or forty Greek hexameters, of course with such prosody as it pleased God,) but of few continuous drudgeries." In the old school-house may still be read the unfailing record, "Byron, 1805," and in Harrow church-yard a tomb is pointed out which the author of *Childe Harold* describes in a letter to Mr. Murray, requesting that the remains of his daughter Allegra, might rest there, "a tomb under a large tree where I used to sit for hours and hours when a boy. This was my favorite spot."

Nor are the rolls of these schools any less richly furnished with names illustrious in other walks. It was at Westminster that the younger Sir Harry Vane imbibed, with his Latin Grammar, a more than Roman virtue; here studied Warren Hastings, little dreaming as he used to wander in the shadow of the weather-stained battlements of the neighboring hall, that he would one day be summoned there to answer to the charge of oppressing provinces more populous and opulent than Roman proconsul ever plundered. At this school, too, the present Earl Russell construed Sophocles and Terence. At St. Paul's the great Duke of Marlborough learned the little Latin that he ever knew, and the unfortunate Major Andre acquired that taste for letters which did not desert him even amid the fatigues of his American campaign. At Harrow were educated Sheridan, Palmerston, and Sir Robert Peel. It is said that little Robert used to sit on the school-house steps, while the bell was ringing, and write Greek and Latin verses for such of his friends as were more skilled in cricket than the classics. Rugby, as one might infer from the adventures of Tom Brown, is especially rich in military heroes. During the Peninsular campaign, at the "pounding match" of Waterloo, through the weary Crimean winter, and the sickening days of the Sepoy revolt, her dauntless sons were ever in the foremost of the fight.

These names, which might be multiplied almost without end, are the names of boys drawn from every rank of life. Nearly

without exception the original foundations around which these schools have gathered, were designed expressly for the education of poor boys. These foundationers, as they are called, are separately lodged and boarded, and are taught either free of charge, or at a mere nominal expense, having besides the opportunity, on leaving school, of competing for prizes and scholarships at the Universities. The non-foundationers, on the other hand, who constitute at every school the great majority, pay handsomely for the privileges they enjoy. Thus at Eton, a few years ago, there were seventy colleges, and nearly eight hundred paying pupils, or Oppidans. At Harrow and Rugby, the proportion was about the same. Thus it will be seen that the English Schools, while far transcending the purpose for which they were originally founded, and rendering the nation a far greater service than was first contemplated, have remained ever mindful of their primary function of furnishing gratuitous instruction to poor boys. And many a famous scholar was rescued from obscurity by these munificent provisions.

Among the literary men of England, who owed their early training to her Public Schools, we recall but one who does not refer to his school days with gratitude. We need hardly mention Cowper, who passed ten years at Westminster, and whose "*Tirocinium*" was the first vigorous assault on the system that had been so long established. No one can deny that there were crying evils in those days, as indeed there are crying evils now, yet we cannot persuade ourselves that the poet did not a little overstate the case when he penned the lines:

"Would you your son should be a sot or dunce,  
Lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once,  
That in good time, the stripling's finished taste  
For loose expense and fashionable waste,  
Should prove your ruin, and his own at last,  
Train him in public with a mob of boys,  
Childish in mischief only, and in noise."

But Cowper had a physical organization that peculiarly unfitted him for the rough discipline of a Public School, and though his biographer would fain persuade us that as a boy he excelled at foot-ball and cricket, yet he himself confesses, in the "*Task*," that he used rather to shun his playmates. "I have loved," he says,

"the rural walk  
O'er hills, through valleys, and by river's brink,  
E'er since, a truant boy, I passed my bounds  
To enjoy a ramble on the banks of Thames."

Years after, when the influence of his family had secured him the appointment of reading clerk in the House of Lords, he was so appalled at the prospect of facing that august assembly that he was driven to the verge of suicide. We cannot but think that the Bard of Olney was more at home fondling tame hares, and sipping weak tea with Mrs. Unwin, than when joining in the boisterous sports of the Westminster play-ground. Gibbon, who was also a Westminster boy, while he complained bitterly of Oxford always spoke with real affection of his own school.

"I shall always be ready," he says, "to join in the common opinion that our Public Schools, which have produced so many eminent characters, are the best adapted to the genius and constitution of the English people. A boy of spirit may here acquire a practical experience of the world. In a free intercourse with his equals the habits of truth, fortitude and prudence will insensibly be matured. Birth and riches are measured by the standard of personal merit, and the mimic scenes of a rebellion have displayed, in their true colors, the ministers and patriots of the rising generation."

The pen which has delineated with so much eloquence the causes of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, sums up, in these few sentences, the substantial grounds of the great and long continued influence of the great schools of England. With accustomed sagacity he strikes at the root of the whole matter. The question is continually asked, why spend years in laboriously construing Aristophanes and Plautus, and drudging over Greek and Latin verse? How small the number even in the least benefited by the process! The effectual answer to this is, that these schools are not mere grammar schools; they are schools of character and manners, realizing more perfectly than any educational institutions that have existed in modern times the Platonic ideal of education as compassing the whole life. A knowledge of Greek and Latin literature forms but a small part of the manifold and vigorous discipline which they communicate. They teach a thousand things, and through a thousand channels, of which no trace is found in their formal methods. The pride and enthusiasm which they awaken can never be explained from the mere round of school-room tasks. How small a part, in fact, of what goes to

make up our bare intellectual furniture, do most of us derive from books! Bald book instruction is the least nourishing food the mind can ever get. The great teachers of the world have always taught with the living voice. The supreme influences that mould the character are influences that flow from living persons; the lessons of actual life are the lessons that come commended with most resistless force. There never was a school where your bright, impressible, emulous boy will not learn far more from his playmates than from his teacher; where the forces that really shape his spirit, and inspire his most hearty, enthusiastic effort are not far more derived from the little world of which he is conscious of being a living part, with its cherished traditions, its accepted maxims, its too often defective, yet always heartily recognized code of ethics. Education is in the very air we breathe; we are educated by everything that touches the wide circumference of our spiritual natures, by the endless flow of life around us, by every genuine experience of human nature. We are led on to perfection by all the beauty of the world, and by the very stars which at times seem to fight against us.

It is as seats of such manifold and ennobling and powerful discipline that the great schools of England are so strongly rooted in the nation's heart. We know that Matthew Arnold, in one of the most charming of his essays, claims that the culture of these schools is not what it used to be. "Whence come," he asks, "the deadness, the want of intellectual life, the poverty of acquirement after years of schooling, so prevalent in our most distinguished public schools?" No doubt there are plenty of shortcomings and defects. We may laugh, if we will, at their invincible persistence in obsolete methods; we may question the wisdom of devoting so large a portion of our brief existence to the manufacture of Latin verse; we may think that a somewhat disproportioned share of thought and effort is devoted to boats and cricket; nay, we may even smile at some of the peculiar institutions, as the famous whipping block at Eton, which many a boy of noble blood has mounted with unfeigned reluctance, or the no less famous *vimen quadrifidum* of Winchester, of which a feeling recollection lingers on the back of not a few statesmen and divines, or the tossing of the pancake at Westminster on Shrove Tuesday, or the long blue gown of Christ's Hospital, which encased the youthful legs of

Coleridge and Charles Lamb, but the fact remains for all this that never in any age, nor in any country, have there existed institutions which in so many ways, and through such various channels, have touched the springs of youthful character. Such genial writers as the author of the "*Day Dreams of a Schoolmaster*," may labor to persuade us that most boys bring away very little from these schools, but the almost unanimous testimony of all who have studied at them is, that those boys who bring away the least of what is technically termed education often bring away the most of those manly traits which are the basis of the best success in life, and which in the pressure of real emergencies always puts mere book learning to the blush. The discipline of a public school may sometimes be harsh and faulty, but it can hardly ever fail of being vigorous. The boys who conquer in the cricket field conquer by the strenuous exercise of qualities that are certain to come into play in after and more serious conflicts, and the pluck, the courage, the quick eye, the ready judgment shown in the foot-ball matches which have made so famous the school-closes of Rugby, many a time blazed forth in the trenches before Sebastopol and beneath the burning sun of India.

With all the diversity of origin the great schools of England have come to be, in the main, very much alike. Altogether the most striking characteristic, so far as concerns their internal organization, is the great authority entrusted to the older boys. The boys of the Sixth Form, in all the schools, are admitted to a share in the school government. To this end they possess what must strike one, familiar only with our system, as extraordinary powers. At Eton, where the formal monitorial system as it obtains at other schools, has hardly an existence, the older boys may still punish breaches of school discipline by setting impositions, or by the more summary process of a "licking." The Captain of each house is also expected to assist the Master of it in maintaining order. At Winchester the school is virtually governed by Prefects, chosen from the elder boys. The Monitors at Harrow, who are the first fifteen boys, have authority over the whole school, although they are only allowed to inflict a caning on the younger classes. At Rugby, the good order of the school is largely dependent on the Sixth Form boys, who are here called "Præpostors." They keep order while names are called, call



names in the boarding-houses, read prayers in the absence of the Master of the house, and in general enforce obedience to all rules of school discipline, being authorized to inflict chastisements on any boy below the Fifth by not more than five or six strokes of a cane across the shoulders.

But besides the authority thus expressly entrusted to the elder boys by law, they enjoy in other ways an extraordinary influence. At Eton, where the proximity of the "silver winding Thames" makes rowing the great accomplishment, the Captain of the boats is the leader of the school, and next him ranks the Captain of the Eleven. At all the schools those who excel in athletic sports hold the supreme place in the consideration of the boys. A long hit at cricket still bears, among the sons of Wykeham, the name of a late warder, who on one occasion sent the ball flying with a force that became historic.

This recognized pre-eminence of the elder boys needs to be well considered in order to understand the inner life of an English School. The grave responsibility which rests upon them, a responsibility which they are bound by a powerful public sentiment to exercise fearlessly and justly, is the most efficient element in their whole school training. Fagging, with all its faults, was rooted in a right principle. Dr. Arnold's "zeal in its defence," says his biographer, "and his confident reliance upon it as the keystone of his whole government, were eminently characteristic of himself." The lively author of "Recollections of Eton," whose reminiscences of the whipping block have such unmistakably personal flavor, gives the fairest description that we remember reading, of the lights and shadows of a fag's life, and on the whole, it must be confessed he has rather a merry time of it.

Another striking characteristic of English school life is the intense *esprit du corps*, the result at once of so many venerable and proud traditions, and of such unique personal ties. These schools are little republics, whose citizens are welded together by community of recollections and community of sympathies as intense as that existing in the little state-cities of ancient Greece. And as in the elaborate and diversified training of an Athenian citizen, the sentiments not less than the intelligence were constantly appealed to through the persuasive ministry of art and architecture, so in the English schools those external surroundings which so powerfully influence



the imagination, and through that influence silently shape the character, are wisely cared for. The chapel of Eton, which has recently been restored, has preached for more than four centuries, a silent exhortation to perfection. The oaken stalls are carved with exquisite richness, and at the eastern end, shedding the hues of the rainbow over the tessellated pavement of the chancel, is a splendid window, the gift of Eton boys. So the towers and courts of Winchester are monuments of the wisdom not less than the munificence of its mitred builder. The cloisters are said to be even more richly decorated than those of the college which he built at Oxford. The exceeding elegance of the chapel attracts no less attention. In the great eastern window are represented the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, while from the remaining windows the figures of saintly kings and bishops look down with voiceless benediction; and beneath them may still be read the legend which the Reformation did not erase, "Pray for the soul of William de Wykeham, the founder of this chapel." The Refectory is one of the finest examples extant of an old collegiate hall, the lofty oaken roof being upheld by corbels also representing kings and prelates. The school-room at Westminster, with its roof of solid chestnut, is not less imposing; and although Shrewsbury cannot compare with either of the schools just mentioned, yet its quaint chapel and library, both dating back to the last Tudor reign, are in admirable keeping with its picturesque location.

Is the question now asked, what bearing have these mere material surroundings upon education? we answer, much, every way. It is common with us to sneer at the waste of money in bricks and mortar, and it is no doubt true that the bare rules of grammar and arithmetic may be just as well learned in a barn as within a fair Gothic quadrangle, and beneath the quaintly carved pendants of a high overarching oaken roof, but is such dry mastering of the rules of grammar and arithmetic all that is meant by education? So far as mere formal instruction out of text-book goes, it is doubtless as well done in some of our best schools as at Winchester or Eton, but how hard and dry, after all, is our American school life, how bald and wearisome the monotonous routine, how scanty the influences that give a genial development to character, how ludicrous would seem the attempt to invest it

with the charm with which the author of "Tom Brown" has invested the school life of an English boy! It was with a wise perception of the part which poetic sentiment must play in generous culture that the late Head Masters of Harrow, Dr. Wordsworth and Dr. Vaughn, both did so much to beautify its buildings. Dr. Arnold, who was bred at Winchester, keenly felt the deficiencies of Rugby in this respect, and zealously applied himself to remedy them. All readers of his life will recall the interest he felt in the adornment of Rugby chapel. Money thus spent is never thrown away. If it be the end of a noble education not merely to sharpen youthful wits, an end in itself always so unsatisfactory and profitless, but to enlarge the whole nature, to refine the taste, to soften the manners, to purify the imagination, to allure the youthful spirit to the pursuit of all perfection, to arouse its emulation for whatever things are pure and true, and lovely, and honest, and of good report, then surely these outward surroundings, which are the daily associates of a boy during his most plastic years, are by no means to be despised. What Sir Philip Sidney says of Poetry is not less true of Culture, "It must not be drawn by the ears; it must be gently led." And the secret of the wonderful hold of these English schools, in spite of their acknowledged faults, is the manner in which they mingle poetry with the dry prose of ordinary school-boy life. Creations of the Past, so rich in memories, so vocal with tradition, so venerable, so beautiful, their gray towers standing as they have stood for so many centuries, their sunny play-grounds where so many generations of proud, happy boys have shouted, and pushed, and scrambled, their quaint school-rooms whose walls and benches are covered over with the names of so many poets and statesmen, and heroes, their antique halls where in the lingering light of the summer evenings, the familiar school songs have been so often sung, their stately chapels where the same words of prayer and praise have been uttered by the lips of so many successive classes, where so many boys have knelt, where some are sleeping their last sleep, all this is poetry, and all this is culture in its noblest, highest sense. For that alone can be called a complete and generous culture that touches every side of our manifold and wondrously fashioned being, which reaches below mere mental discipline to the deeper springs of the moral and æsthetic nature, which not only increases knowledge,

but matures and ennobles character, which sweetens and elevates while it informs, and enriches the soul with all sweet ideals while equipping it with the conditions of success. For such an education as this the slate, the atlas, the lexicon are not sufficient; the efforts of the best teacher cannot achieve it; it is an education too rich and manifold and inspiring to result from any single agency; it is the product of all surrounding circumstances; it is silently instilled by innumerable subtle agencies; it is in the very air; in the indescribable tone which glorifies with enchantment and bathes with beauty its chosen seats; an inbreathed sense which all can feel but which every one must shrink from analyzing.

We have no hesitation in saying that the great schools of England have done more to shape English character than the Universities themselves. The Universities, with all their prestige and influence, are little more than the creation of the Schools, and without the early discipline that the schools impart, they could accomplish very little. The Schools and Universities are in fact but part of one harmonious and admirably compact system. And what greater services could be rendered higher education in our own country than by founding just such schools as these; schools so amply endowed, that while furnishing the very highest training to a certain number without cost, the position of Master might still be made equal to the highest educational positions in the land in emolument and dignity; with all fair surroundings and all suitable adornments of art and architecture, homes of quiet beauty, nurseries of refined sentiment, seats of thorough training round which in after days, as round the fair sisterhood of English schools, might cluster all glorious memories and all venerable traditions?

If five-sixths of our starved and struggling colleges, instead of attempting a work which they have no means whatever of performing, would only set themselves to accomplish something legitimately within their reach; if instead of assuming, as they do in so many cases, the absurd name of universities, and clutching with so much avidity the empty prerogative of annually flooding the land with honorary degrees that have long since lost all significance, they would be content with the work of honestly teaching boys, aiming to make themselves worthy rivals of Rugby and Harrow, instead of ludicrous caricatures of Oxford and Cam-

bridge, it would be the greatest step that higher education in America has ever taken. We are making a great ado about universities, but the crying want of this country, at present, is good preparatory schools. We have five times as many universities, if they may so be called, as the country can support; but we have yet to seek, in this broad land, for a single institution that can furnish to our boys the rich and genial culture which English schools afford. Why will not the multitude of our smaller colleges be content with the honorable subordination of Winchester and Eton? Where be the Wykehams, the Suttons, the John Lyons of America, who will send down their memories to succeeding ages in these enduring monuments; who instead of coveting the foolish distinction of adding another to our superabundant colleges will be content to found in America a school ranking as Harrow, and Schulpforte, and Soreze, have ranked in England, Germany and France; an institution where with severest intellectual discipline might be blended those sweet and self-insinuating influences that form so marked a feature in the great English schools; an institution at whose portals, as at the gates of the temple, the twin pillars Jachin and Boaz, strength and beauty, might stand side by side? Already in worship we have learned to recognize the benignant ministry of art, and never in education shall we reach that high ideal after which we are so restlessly striving till flinging aside the utilitarian notion that it consists in mere sharpening of the faculties, we come to recognize it as rhythmic and poetic. The best history, the best philosophy, the best religious teaching the world has seen is poetic in form or spirit,—the Tale of Troy divine, the teachings of Plato, the strains of Hebrew David, what have we finer than these? Nay, the parables of the great teacher are but such “bodying forth of the forms of things unknown,” as the greatest of bards defines to be the essence of all true poetry. Can we doubt that education in its most generous sense, must be poetic, in other words, that it must consist far more in a subtle, pervading influence than in any formal method; far more in the genial awakening of the intuitive perceptions, than in mere training of the understanding; not resting as a hideous nightmare on the heart of youth, but ravishing it with a perpetual feast of nectared sweets?

## ART. II.—GENESIS AND GEOLOGY.

*Geology and the Fall of Man, or the Earth a Theatre in which to display the Gracious Character of God. By Prof. David Christy.\**

A SINGLE great Creative Period in the history of our Earth, seems an inference from the Mosaic Records. This fact has furnished modern Geology an inviting point of attack, and its votaries have not hesitated to press every imagined advantage. Their methods of investigation led to the conclusion that there had been successions of creations extending through millions of years, and corresponding to the formations which divide the crust of the earth. Of fifteen geological periods supposed to have terminated before the present, the Genera and many of the allied Species of molluscs belonging to seven, are now found at different depths in the sea-beds—thus robbing a venerable theory of nearly half its supports.

We shall not enter upon the history of the researches made in reference to the great diversity of the species in the several geological formations, nor delay to show how the doctrine of the Development Theory rose out of the results of the earlier investigations, and was discredited again by more recent discoveries. It is only necessary to say, that, while the Formations have each their distinct Genera and Species, which distinguish them from each other; yet a few solitary specimens of each Class of animals, have been found in nearly all the formations.

Or, to be a little more definite, the *Lower Silurian* Formation, which rests upon the Primary Rocks, except at a few points, and is considered the oldest, save two, of all the Secondary Formations embraces fossils belonging to Orders, and Genera the farthest removed from those now found living along our sea coasts, or upon our lands. In ascending from the Silurian upwards, each formation, in succession, has new Orders and Genera included in its strata, which approximate more and more closely, and the newest, the closest of all, to the existing Orders and Genera inhabiting

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\* Prof. Christy's excellent work yet in manuscript has furnished the material for this article.

the sea coasts, the fresh water streams, and the lands, at the present moment of time.

But while the formations thus differ from each other, in the greater or less abundance of particular classes, orders, genera, and species, which they contain; there is not a single Class\* of existing marine animals, now known upon the globe, that has not furnished a few straggling specimens of one or another of its Orders, to all the formations, from the newest to the oldest.

And what does this prove, but that the theory of a few years back, which held that animals of the higher classes had not been created at as early a period as those of the lower, may now be ranked among the Fables of Geology; and the greater abundance of some, and the extreme rarity of others, in the exposures of the earlier stratified rocks, may be attributed to other causes than their non-existence.† What these causes were, are, to some extent, yet involved in mystery. Facts, however, are coming out, which must, at least, tend to modify public sentiment upon that subject, and subdue the tone of confidence in which all opposing views have been denounced.

Naturalists have ascertained, by careful investigation, that the various Genera and species of marine animals, have each their particular depth or temperature of water, and their peculiar character of sea-bottom, in which they can live and propagate; and that the existence of cold under-currents of water, or a change of depth, by the influx of sediment, the accumulation of their own exuviae as the successive generations die off, or the elevation or depression of the sea-bottom by volcanic action, must produce a change in the species of any given locality. On this point the testimony is important:

The late PROFESSOR EDWARD FORBES, of England, during the years 1841 and '42, by a careful dredging of the *Ægean* Sea, occupying eighteen months, succeeded in bringing up from its varied depths, the molluscs and other classes of animals which inhabit it. The operations extended from the *Morea* to the shores of *Asia Minor*, besides numerous coast observations, whenever opportunity offered. More than one hundred dredging operations, in various

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\* The term *Class* is used in its technical sense.

† These causes are explained by the late dredgings in the seas.



depths, are recorded, from one to one hundred and thirty fathoms. He thus ascertained, that there are, in that sea-bottom, eight well-marked zones, or regions, differing in depth, and each characterized by its peculiar Orders and Genera, the species of each being abundant. Each of these zones possessed a distinctive lithological character—some being composed, mainly, of sand, some of lime, and some of clays, gradually blending into one another at their margins. The difference in the molluscs of each of these zones, is as well marked, nearly, as the difference in the fossil species of the several formations of the Secondary Rocks.

The first zone, surrounding the shore, extends to the depth of twelve feet only, or between high and low tide; but this narrow belt is inhabited by more than one hundred species. The second zone, or circle, lies within the first, and extends from where the first terminates, to a depth of forty-eight feet lower along the sloping sea-bed, being almost equally populous. The third zone extends to a further depth of sixty feet; the fourth of ninety feet; the fifth of one hundred and twenty feet; the sixth of one hundred and forty-four feet; the seventh of one hundred and fifty; amounting, in all, to a depth of about six hundred and thirty feet. The eighth zone, itself, occupies a depth of seven hundred and fifty feet, which covers the whole central part of the sea, as far as explored, the lowest portion being one thousand three hundred and eighty feet deep.

Sixty-five species were brought up from the eighth zone. Only two species of molluscs were found common to all the eight zones, and one of these was supposed to be a straggler. Three species were common to seven zones, nine to six zones, and seventeen to five zones.

In connection with this it is shown, that while vegetables of a subtropical character may be borne down by the Nile, into the Mediterranean, on the one side, accompanying the remains of crocodiles and ichneumons; the Danube, on the other side, may transport parts of the vegetation of the Austrian Alps, with the relics of marmots and salamanders—the marine remains mingled with these contemporaneous deposits retaining a common character.

But we must quote Prof. Forbes' own language in reference to some of the most important points. He says:



"There are eight well-marked regions of depth in the Eastern Mediterranean, each characterized by its peculiar Fauna, and where there are plants, by its Flora. These regions are distinguished from each other by the associations of the species they severally include. Certain species in each are found in no other, several are found in one region which do not range into the next above, whilst they extend to that below, or *vice versa*. Certain species have their maximum of development in each zone, being most prolific in individuals in that zone in which is their maximum, and of which they may be regarded as especially characteristic. Mingled with the true natives of every zone, are stragglers, owing their presence to the action of the secondary influences which modify distribution. Every zone has also a more or less general mineral character, the sea-bottom not being equally variable in each, and becoming more and more uniform as we descend. The deeper zones are greatest in extent; so that while the first or most superficial is but twelve the eighth, or lowest, is above seven hundred feet in perpendicular range. Each zone is capable of subdivision in smaller belts, but these are distinguished, for the most part, by negative characters, derived from the cessation of species, the range of which is completed, and from local changes in the nature of the sea-bottom.

"To all the eight regions, only two species of molluscs are common, viz.: *Arca lactea* and *Cerithium lima*; the former a true native, from first to last, the latter, probably, only a straggler in the lowest. Three species are common to seven regions; one of them possibly owing its presence in the lower ones to its having dropped off floating sea-weeds. Nine species are common to six regions. Seventeen species are common to five regions.

"The eight regions are the scene of incessant change. The death of the individuals of the several species inhabiting them, the continual accession, deposition, and sometimes washing away of sediment and coarser deposits, the action of the secondary influences, and the changes of elevation which appear to be periodically taking place in the Eastern Mediterranean are ever modifying their character. As each region shallows or deepens, its animal inhabitants must vary in specific associations, for the depression which may cause one species to dwindle away and die, will cause another to multiply. The animals themselves, too, by their over-multiplication, appear to be the cause of their own destruction. As the influence of the nature of sea-bottom determines, in a great measure, the species present on that bottom, the multiplication of individuals dependent on the rapid reproduction of successive generations of Mollusca, &c., will of itself change the ground, and render it unfit for the continuation of life in that locality, until a new layer of sedimentary matter, uncharged with living organic contents, deposited on the bed formed by the exuvie of the exhausted species, forms a fresh soil for similar or other animals to thrive, attain their maximum, and from the same cause die off. This, I have reason to believe, is the case, from my observations in the British, as well as the Mediterranean seas. The Geologist will see in it an explanation of the phenomenon of interstratification of fossiliferous, and non-fossiliferous beds."

Now, as the deposit of sediment, and the accumulation of shell-fish in the *Ægean* sea progress in filling up its bottom, and rendering its waters shallower; it is evident that the outer zones must be extended inwards, simultaneously, until, ultimately, the first, second, and down to the seventh, may be filled up far enough inwards to overlie much of the area of the eighth; while the eighth, itself, may become so far filled up by the sediment carried in, and the exuviae of its shell-fish, as to entirely disappear, reducing the depth of the sea to 680 feet, or that of the first seven zones. In such a case, all the species belonging to the eighth zone would become extinct, without any convulsion destroying them, while the species of the seventh zone, would be extended inwards over the area of the eighth, so as to take the place of its species, and thus effect an entire change without a *NEW CREATION*. And thus the sea might have all its zones filled up, so as to exhibit a geological section, when elevated, cut through, and exposed, embracing eight different Formations, all produced contemporaneously, instead of occupying distinct periods, requiring, for each one, millions of years in its production.

But changes in the depths of the waters of an ocean, sufficient to destroy life within one or more of its zones, or so as to shift the whole of them, may be produced in a much less period of time, by other agencies than those we have been considering. It is well known that portions of the lands around sea-coasts, have been elevated, more than once, within the historic period, by volcanic action, to heights, in some cases, sufficient to bring up the first and a part of the second of the *Ægean* sea zones above high tide. These changes in the level of the sea-bed, such as those produced by the late earthquakes in Chili and the Sandwich Islands, must, of course, have caused the molluscs of the first zone to perish, or have driven them inwards upon their neighbors of the second; and they, in turn, must have migrated still further inwards, to a depth of water similar to what they formerly occupied; and so, also, of the others. The rule will apply to depressions as well as elevations of sea-bottoms.

Similar investigations to those made in the *Ægean* Sea, were conducted about the same time in other seas, and with like results. The shallower waters of the Atlantic, around the coasts of Great Britain, when examined some years since, furnished only four zones—the depth being only half that of the *Ægean* Sea.

If, then, we take a large ocean, and apply these principles of the progression of life to its vast area, we may expect to find a greater number of Orders, Genera, and Species, in its varied depths and latitudes, than now exist in the little *Ægean Sea*. And at the end of a few thousand years, during which its basin has been filling up, and the outer zones covering over the inner ones, from the causes stated, if the waters of this ocean were to be drained off, by the elevation of its bed, in what respect would the arrangement of its sedimentary deposits, and organic remains, differ from those of the secondary rocks? Must they not present a succession of formations corresponding to the several zones included in the ocean, and differing from one another in their organic remains, and the character of their rocks, as widely as the subdivisions in the Secondary Rocks differ in their fossil species?

That the shores of seas may retreat inwards, leaving their sediment and organic remains behind, as memorials of their original bounds, is a fact well attested by the highest authority, and must be noticed here; and we shall then direct attention to the surprising discoveries very recently made by the dredgings along the coasts of the United States and Great Britain.

M. de Verneuil, of France, Sir R. Murchison, of England, and Count Keyserling, of Russia, during their explorations in Russia, discovered that the fossils in the cliffs, on the eastern side of the Bosphorus and the Black Sea, and throughout the district of country between their eastern shores and the Caspian, were identical with the recent faunæ, or living animals, in the Caspian. They found, also, that the whole region between the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, was of the same character; and that the faunæ of both these seas were identical. They inferred, with much reason, therefore, that these seas—the Caspian and Aral—were once united, and covered a much wider area than at present. This opinion is greatly strengthened by the fact, that, of the numerous species found as fossils in the eastern banks of the Bosphorus, not one of them is identical with the living species in either the Bosphorus or the Black Sea; while all of them are found living in the Caspian and Aral. So gradual had been the process of the receding of the waters of the Caspian, over a distance of near six degrees of longitude, that no violence was done to the living animal inhabitants in the shallower waters of its shores, but they

continued to live and propagate, so as to leave their remains throughout the whole distance. These gentlemen, therefore, established a new formation, calling it the *Aralo-Caspian Formation*.

It may be objected to this *Ægean Sea* theory, that it fails to account for some facts known to Geology. There are areas in the older formations, that include species which have become extinct, not being found at any of the depths examined in the present oceans. These examinations, too, have been extended beyond the depths at which any molluscs were formerly supposed to be able to live. How is this to be explained on the *Ægean Sea* theory? In this way:

Laws, the same as those now existing, doubtless prevailed at the first. There were CENTRES of Creation, or geographical kingdoms, and the species radiated, by propagation, then as now, from the point where the original pairs were created. The molluscs of the deeper sea-beds, limited to their own kingdoms, and the species, radiating from the original centre of each, would continue to propagate and extend, so long as the appropriate depth of water, and temperature, were maintained; but when their exuvixæ, added to the inflowing sediment, filled up the flooring of the sea, to the line above which they could no longer exist, extinction was the necessary result. Thus, species would disappear, not to be repeated at any depth afterwards. Prof. Forbes presents another thought on this subject which is worthy of careful study.

To return again to the discoveries of Prof. Forbes. In the molluscs alone, he found in the *Ægean Sea*, more than one hundred and sixty species not included in the French catalogues. Of one order, he found eight species, hitherto observed only in the fossil state, and some of which had long been regarded as characteristic of certain Tertiary formations. Nearly one-third of the one hundred and ninety species of this order—*PECTINIBRANCHIATA* in the *Ægean Sea*, are found fossil in the *Pliocene* deposits of the Archipelago, mingled with species of more Southern character, some of which are existing inhabitants of the Red Sea. In the corresponding *Tertiaries* of Sicily, Atlantic species occur, of which there are no traces either recent or fossil in the *Ægean Sea*. These facts, says Prof. Forbes, would seem to indicate the connection of a Mediterranean basin on the one hand with the Indian Ocean by the Red Sea, and on the other with the Celtic Seas during the last Tertiary period.

Of another order—*LAMELLIBRANCHIATA*, *Dimyaria*—one hundred and fifteen species were discovered, of which ten were undescribed. Most of these were at great depths. Two of these are species formerly known in the fossil state. Forty-five species extend their range from the *Ægean* to the shores of Britain. None of the new species found were observed fossil in the neighboring Tertiaries. Of the *Monomyaria* of this order, twenty-eight species were found, of which six were new, and eight species extend to Britain.

But we need not dwell longer on this topic, remarking, only, that it may very confidently be claimed, that the argument for the great age of the earth, which has been based upon the diversity in the fossil species of the several formations, is not entitled to the weight that has generally been attached to it. Each formation may not, and could not have occupied a distinct period of time in its production, but several of them, as appears in American Geology, must have been progressing at the same time at different depths in the sea-beds in which they were deposited.

Twenty-five years after Professor Edward Forbes had finished his investigations in the *Ægean Sea*, a flood of light began to be let in upon the subject of animal life in the deep seas; \* and, now, in 1870, sufficient knowledge has been gained to enable us to proceed with a considerable degree of safety, in generalizing upon the results.

In proceeding to lay before our readers the new facts referred to, we find a portion of them referring to the British sea-coasts, carefully collated by the *London Spectator*, April 17, 1869, and avail ourselves of its labors:

“Until last year dredging had never been carried on at depths exceeding some 300 fathoms, and was confined as a rule to much shallower tracts. This was partially due to the great difficulty of manipulating the dredge at great depths, and partially, no doubt, to the very prevalent opinion that the bottom of the deep sea would be found to be a lifeless solitude, barren of spoils to the naturalist. The late Prof. Edward Forbes, one of the most accomplished zoologists of modern times, concluded from his researches that a zero of animal life in the sea would be found at 300 fathoms, referring elsewhere to all beyond this depth as ‘an abyss where life is either extinguished,

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\* The opinion of Prof. Forbes, that animal life in deep seas would not be found, did much to retard investigation in the profounder parts of the ocean.

or exhibits but a few sparks to mark its lingering presence.' The first blow to this widely accepted doctrine was given by Captain Ross, in his Arctic Expedition, who brought up starfish from a depth of 1000 fathoms by means of the sounding line. Similar results were afterwards obtained by others; but the first real steps toward the solution of this question were made by Prof. Bailey, of the United States, and by Prof. Huxley and Dr. Wallich, at home. These observers proved by means of soundings, that the bed of the Atlantic at depths of from 1000 to 2000 fathoms, or 6000 to 12,000 feet, was composed almost entirely of the calcareous cases of certain minute *Protozoa*, and of the flinty envelopes of one of the lowest orders of *plants*; the former of these, at any rate, being beyond a reasonable doubt truly resident at this enormous depth. Quite recently the existence of animals of a higher grade of organization at great depths in the ocean has been established by the researches of Prof. Sars, and Count Pourtales, of the United States Coast Survey. In neither of these cases, however, though some very striking facts were brought to light, were the dredgings carried on at depths of more than 500 fathoms."

From the preliminary Report, by Drs. Carpenter and Thompson, of dredgings in the deep channel between the North of Scotland and the Farø Islands, some highly curious and valuable discoveries have been made.

"The special object of the expedition was to determine what living beings—if any—inhabited the deeper portions of this area; and it is sufficient to state, that this object was fully attained by the discovery of many curious forms of animal life at depths of from 500 to 650 fathoms. Amongst these, besides an abundance of lower forms, there were many examples of *zoophytes*, *starfish*, *shell-fish*, and *crustaceans*.

"So much for the facts, as far as this portion of the inquiry is concerned; and now for the deductions which may be drawn from the facts. In the first place, we may now regard it as fully established that there exists 'a varied and abundant submarine fauna at depths which have been generally supposed to be altogether *azoic*, or occupied only by animals of a very low type.' As a necessary consequence of this, we must give up the long accepted belief that great *bathymetrical* pressure, that is to say, the pressure caused by a great mass of superincumbent water, is necessarily destructive or prejudicial to the higher forms of animal life. It appears, on the contrary, from what we now learn, that 'the distribution of the animal life of the seas beyond the *litoral* zone is more closely related to the *temperature* of the water than to its *depth*,' just as the distribution of plants upon mountain chains is regulated, not by the elevation, but by the temperature, which is merely a secondary result of the elevation.

"More extraordinary, however, than the *abundance* of animal life at these great depths is its *character*; and here we arrive at one of the most striking discoveries of modern science, though it is one that will have to be worked out in greater detail before we can reason confidently upon it. It appears,



namely, that these hitherto unexplored abysses of the ocean have constituted asylums, so to speak, for forms of life which are elsewhere extinct, and are only known to us as characterizing some long-past geological epoch; not to speak of others up to this time believed to be limited to particular localities or altogether new to science.

"To state this result more specifically without entering into technical details is difficult, but it appears certain that not only is the bottom of the North Atlantic at great depths covered with a deposit in all essential characters closely resembling *chalk*, but that the higher animals now known to inhabit this area are closely allied to, and in some cases even inseparable from, species which lived during the *Cretaceous* epoch. Enough, at any rate, has been discovered to render it certain that more extensive researches are likely to confirm and amplify this important generalization."

But there is another point of great interest determined by these gentlemen. They have proved that in certain areas—supposed to be those traversed by cold currents from the Polar regions—the temperature at the bottom was as low as 32° Fahr., whilst that of the surface might be as high as 53° Fahr., a difference of more than 20°. The freezing point of salt water is below 28°. These facts, added to those relating to the *Ægean* Sea, greatly strengthen the general views presented in our several chapters relating to geological points. Who knows, then, but in the wide, wide sea, that many species of the older formations, supposed to be extinct, may yet be discovered, and that after all, there may have been but one Creative Period?

But we have additional results of great importance, in the later reports of these gentlemen.\* The bottom of the cold tract of the ocean current, is found to be formed of barren sandstone, mingled with fragments of older rocks, inhabited but by a few animals, and those mostly of the species found in the *Arctic* Seas. In the adjacent warm area, on the contrary, the bottom is *Cretaceous*, and abounding with life. Dr. Carpenter is disposed to look on this *cretaceous* sea-bottom as the still existing *chalk*-formation, and he thinks this view finds support in the fact that its basis is nearly the same as that of the *cretaceous* deposits, as certain species common to both are found in this *calcareous* mud. This exploration establishes another important fact, that in the deep-

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\* December 17, 1867.



est seas yet examined, nearly 15,000 feet, the bottom teems with animal life, *the animals having perfect eyes*.\*

Such discoveries as these are rapidly leading scientific men towards the adoption of the generalization made by the writer, more than twenty years since, upon studying the fossiliferous strata of the Mississippi valley, and comparing their relations to each other, with the results of the dredgings of the *Ægean Sea* by Prof. E. Forbes.

On this point the scientific editor of *Appleton's Journal*, † in referring to the wide difference in the lithological character, and in the existing species of animals, in the tracts of the cold water and the warm water, respectively, says:

"Now, suppose these two tracts upheaved, and become dry land. Geologists would naturally believe them to have been formed at different times, and under very different circumstances; and yet here we find them contemporaneous and almost continuous. Here, then, is a fact which will have to be considered in all future discussions about what is called 'geological time.'"

The discoveries made by the United States Coast Survey, in continuing their researches, by dredging, have revealed not only a similar condition of things on the coast of Florida, but have determined several other points of still greater interest to science.

The late PROF. BACHE took charge of the Department of the United States Coast Survey in 1844. The object to be determined was the depth of water and character of sea-bottom around the coast as far as the 100 fathom line. Sailing masters, with these results before them, might determine, by soundings, in fogs or at night, their probable distance from land or dangerous points. But PROF. BACHE attempted more than this. The surveys for the line of the Atlantic Cable, had yielded some unexpected results, during the deep sea soundings. He, therefore, determined to ascertain the character of the living animals, also, upon the sea-bottom. The lead of the sounding line, was

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\* This discovery at once disproves the old theory that the *Silurian Seas* must have been *shallow*, because some of the species abounding therein had *eyes*, and must, therefore, have had *light*, which, it was supposed, they could not enjoy at great depths. But these discoveries satisfactorily dispose of that theory, and remove one of the principal objections to what may be called the *ÆGEAN SEA THEORY*, that many of the Geological Formations may have been in the course of production at the same time, at different depths.

† February 19, 1870.

made concave at the lower end, and armed with tallow, so that smaller objects, becoming imbedded in the tallow, by the force of the descent upon the bottom, could be brought up to the surface. Many specimens were thus secured between the shore and the outer edge of the Gulf Stream; the greatest depth reaching nearly to 1,500 fathoms, or 9,000 feet. But of course the lead could only bring up microscopic specimens chiefly—*Foraminifera* and *Diatomacea*—along with the sand or the mud.

On the death of PROF. BACHE, PROF. PIERCE was appointed to succeed him. From the printed Report \* of 1867, we learn, that the first campaign under the new Superintendent, was undertaken in connection with Soundings for the Telegraph Cable between Key West and Havana. Improved apparatus for dredging was invented. The yellow fever, however, breaking out on the vessel employed, the dredgings were few in number, but the highly interesting fact was disclosed, that *animal life exists at great depths*, in as great diversity, and as great abundance, as in shallower water.

The next year's operations afforded an opportunity for systematizing results. It was found that the sea-bottom naturally divided itself into three zones around the coral reefs. The *first* extended outwards *four* or *five* miles, to the depth of 90 to 100 fathoms, mostly covered by dead and broken shells, with only twenty-nine living species, showing that the rich Fauna of the reef itself does not extend seaward.

The *second* region, or zone, extends in the form of a band, parallel to the reef, to a breadth of *ten* or *twenty* miles; and, beginning at a depth of about 90 fathoms, or where the first zone terminates, and extending to about 300 fathoms; the slope being much less inclined than in the first region, and in fact deserving in the greatest part of its extent, of the name of a submarine plateau. The bottom is rocky, rather rough, and consists of a recent limestone, continually, though slowly increasing † from the accumulation of calcareous *debris* of the numerous small *Corals*, *Echinoderms*, and *Molluscs* living on its surface, and consolidated by the tubes of *Serpulæ*, the interstices filled up by *Foraminifera*

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\* Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Mass.

† "Slowly increasing"—how did they determine the increase to be slow?

and smoothed over by the *Nullipores*. This region ceases at a depth varying from 250 to 300 fathoms. In addition to the species living and dying upon this limestone, and undergoing the process of petrification, a few others contribute to it by sinking, after death, from the higher regions of the superincumbent water, such as the teeth of fishes and shells of the *Nautilus*, and other *Pteropods* while others are brought by currents from littoral regions, such as bones of the *Manatee*, and fragments of littoral plants. All the branches of the animal kingdom, so far as their marine *carnivorous* orders are concerned, are abundantly represented in this zone, but it is destitute of plants.

The *third* zone begins on the inner line of the second, with a more rapid slope, and extends *over the whole trough of the Channel*, the depth of which in this part does not much exceed 500 fathoms. This region is sparsely inhabited by a few *Molluscs*, *Radiates*, and *Crustaceans*; but the peculiar animals are the microscopical *Globigerinæ* whose silicious shells have covered the bottom of the channel with a rich deposit.

The deep sea animals of the second and third zones, are of smaller size than allied forms of the *littoral* zone, or shore line—the only exception being an *Echinus*, which is nearly of the average size, and an *Actinia*.

In the Report of 1868, in the absence of Mr. Pourtales, Prof. Agassiz, in comparing the species here obtained, with those discovered by the same means at great distances, says:

“The identity of animals found at great depths in the Gulf of Mexico and on the coast of Norway, would show how extensive the influence of the great Atlantic current is in modifying the geographical distribution of organized beings.”

For these Reports we are indebted to the politeness of Mr. Spofford, Librarian of the Congressional Library. Desiring later information, the Librarian had the kindness to introduce us to Prof. Hilyard, of the Coast Survey, who procured for us, from Cambridge, Sept. 1870, a manuscript copy, from the pen of Mr. Pourtales, then in Europe, containing an outline of the results of the later operations in the Coast Surveys.

Mr. Pourtales, in his paper, reviews the operations of the Coast Survey, and delineates the characteristics of the Atlantic Sea-bottom off the Coast of the United States. He is the Assistant in

the Survey, and superintended the dredgings. But on the death of Prof. Bailey, the investigation of the specimens obtained was intrusted to Mr. Pourtales, and as other duties occupied part of his time, the work is yet in progress. This paper, therefore, is of great importance to the scientific world, and a synopsis of it presents the following facts.

The explorations commenced at Cape Cod and extended to Cuba. To the north of Cape Cod, the bottom differs considerably, and is broken by frequent masses of rock, but the examination of it is not complete enough to be taken into consideration now. As shown by the map \* prepared to illustrate the character of the sea-bottom around the coast, two main divisions strike the eye immediately; they are the *Silicious* and the *Calcareous* bottom, the first prevailing near the coast as far south as Cape Florida; the second with two important subdivisions, in greater depths and along the southern extremities of Florida, the Bahamas, and part of the coast of Cuba. It is remarkable at the first glance how closely the limits of the *Silicious* bottom coincide with the limits of the cold southerly current, and the limits of the *Calcareous* with the warm waters of the Gulf stream. On the other hand these limits coincide also at the north, perhaps more closely with the 100 fathom curve. It appears more plausible to attribute the distribution of organic life to which the bottom owes its supply of lime, to increase of depth, rather than to difference of temperature, the more so as there is no correspondence between the temperature at the bottom and at the surface of the water.

We sincerely regret that we have not space to quote in detail more extensively from the remarkable paper of Mr. Pourtales, which embodies results destined greatly to modify former geological theories. In his interesting description of the sea-bottom, we have a new revelation. Six of the geological formations of Europe are proved to exist around the American Coast of the Atlantic, while upon the Coasts of Great Britain, and Norway, similar results have been attained.

Now as the average depth of the Atlantic Ocean is set down at 13,400 feet, and that of the Pacific at 18,000, while the Western side of Helena gives soundings it is said of 27,000 feet, and other

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\* This map should be seen and studied.

places a corresponding depth, and animal life exists at the greatest depths examined by dredging, who can say that the Genera and Species which characterize the *Silurian* formations may not now actually exist in the lower depths of these Oceans, as those of the Greensand, the Chalk and others above named, exist in areas of less depth?

A word here, in concluding this Article. The *Palæozoic* rocks abounding in the species characterizing those formations, have been elevated from the bottom of the ancient seas, \* far above the present levels of our oceans, and constitute the hills and mountains of the dry lands. But in the process of that elevation, how could it be possible that the living species, then inhabiting the sea-beds, would not be swept back again, down the slope thus created by the receding waters, and many of them be carried into the depths of the water in the newly forming ocean basins, to points adapted to them, and the existence of the species be thus prolonged to later periods in the world's history?

This question cannot be answered now, if ever; but so far as the *Cretaceous* and other formations named by Mr. Pourtales are concerned, the case is different. On this continent as well as in portions of Europe, the *Cretaceous* and *Tertiary* rocks are elevated to great heights above the present sea levels, and, heretofore, have been considered as belonging to an age long past; but now the evidence is conclusive, that, while the sea-bed in which the *Cretaceous* and *Tertiary* rocks were formed, have been forced upwards, so as to become dry lands, the species in that sea-bed were carried by the reflux waves to their appropriate depths, where they have continued to live and propagate to the present moment.

Such are the new facts coming to light. And such are our reasons for asserting that our Geological Systems need reconstruction, and of entertaining a conviction that as they advance to perfection they will more and more accommodate themselves to the records of Moses in the opening chapters of Genesis.

In confirmation of our views, we may state that Mr. W. B. Carpenter, F. R. S., in remarking on the results of the deep sea dredgings has been led very cautiously to declare, that "the *onus*

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\* Prof. Hilyard, after a careful study of the facts discovered, expresses the opinion that the present sea-beds have been formed by the *sinking* of the earth's crust.

*probandi* rests upon those who assert that the formation of chalk has ever been interrupted since the Cretaceous Period."

Prof. Huxley sustains this opinion in very decided language. In Australia, according to this last named authority, we now behold the remains of the ancient Triassic continent in which plants and animals of the Triassic period are still living, and constitute the vegetation and fauna of the country. This period was considerably more ancient than the Cretaceous. Hence, the fact cited in regard to Australia will go to strengthen the deductions that may be made from the discoveries reported by Mr. Carpenter. In other quarters of the island world, in parts of Asia, and of Africa, the fauna and flora of the different tertiary epochs are found exemplified in species still living, and which are characteristic and dominant.

The conclusion follows almost inevitably from these facts that what appear to be a succession of deposits are not in all cases a succession. We see a Cretaceous land and a Tertiary land side by side, and say that the Cretaceous formations were deposited in one age, and the Tertiary in a succeeding one. This may not be. The two may have been deposited contemporaneously, or nearly so, in adjoining parts of the same ocean. The one, Cretaceous, would represent the sediment of a deep sea, with waters of a frigid temperature, holding mineral matter of a certain chemical constituency, and in all its circumstances favorable to the life of a certain class of organisms. The other, Tertiary, would stand for a shallower sea, with warmer waters, holding a different kind of solids, and in all its circumstances favorable to the development of other forms of life. Such differences prevail in modern seas, and control the distribution of the provinces of marine life. There is no reason for supposing that they did not prevail to a corresponding extent in the past. This view, in the measure that it can be legitimately applied to the several geologic formations, may materially reduce the time required to build up the entire system of the earth's superstructure; and farther researches may show, that the Mosaic Record, if not proven by Geology, is far from being invalidated by that Science. One after another of the strongholds of the repudiators of Revelation are being successfully assailed, and all must ultimately disappear.



## ART. III.—THE FRENCH PERSECUTIONS.

WE know of no national history which more signally illustrates the law of retribution than that of France. The remark is equally true of her political crimes, and of her religious persecutions. The latter have been unsurpassed in the history of the world, in their cruelty and their extent. It is of some of these and their ultimate consequences in France, that we propose, at this time to treat.

One of the bloodiest pictures in the book of time is that of the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572. It is often referred to as such; and the more fully it is studied, the more is the truth of that statement verified.

Protestantism became powerful in France from the middle of the sixteenth century. It became, as it were, an *imperium in imperio*. Its great leaders, among whom were princes of the blood, and others of high nobility and exalted official position, treated with the government as if they represented an independent power. The seat of its greatest influence was the South of France. The government was compelled, after an unsuccessful attempt to crush it, to grant it a qualified toleration. But Catherine de Medici, the Queen mother, and the young King Charles IX, determined to destroy by treachery and massacre, the hated Protestant power, which they could not at once put down by authority, and which policy had hitherto led them to tolerate to some extent, and to play off against their no less hated virtual masters of the arrogant, bigoted and bloody house of Guise.

It was a crime of unsurpassed atrocity. And that which strikes a modern mind most is the extent to which one so young as King Charles, was able to carry his duplicity. It had been long arranged. The scheme is believed to have been matured by the Duke of Alva and Catherine de Medici. If so it was a progeny worthy of its hideous parentage.

For ten years there had been wars, interrupted by negotiations and by truces, between the Catholic party, headed by the Guises, Catherine de Medici, and King Charles IX, and the Huguenots,

under the lead of the wise and pious Admiral Coligny, the brilliant prince of Conde, and, in the latter portion of the period, the gallant Henry of Navarre. In 1571, a treaty was made between the parties. To cement the peace, Henry of Navarre was to be married to the beautiful Margaret, sister of the King of France. Universal joy prevailed among the people. A horror of great darkness was removed from the Huguenots. A relief, like that of those who wake from a hideous nightmare, was experienced. The great Protestant leaders were invited under the most solemn assurances of safety, to come to Paris and witness the marriage festivities, and swell the genial and fraternal joy. They came, gentle and simple, in glad multitudes. In vain was Coligny admonished that treachery was intended. In vain did some evil auguries forecast a disastrous issue. Notwithstanding that Margaret had submitted to a marriage that was utterly repugnant to her feelings, yet at the moment when she was required to pronounce her assent at the marriage ceremony, she remained sullenly silent, and Henry was compelled to put his hand behind her head and press it forward in token of assent. And yet, notwithstanding this sinister incident, the marriage festivities continued for ten days; and during all that period the arrangements for the slaughter of their unsuspecting victims were matured.

The populace of Paris drunk with bigotry, became impatient of the honors that were showered upon the heretics. Admiral Coligny was shot in the street, and his wound was supposed to be mortal. It was necessary that the bloody deed should no longer be delayed. The slaughter commenced in the very hall of festivity. Five hundred leading Huguenots were murdered on that fatal night. The attendants of Henry were dispatched in the Royal apartments. Thousands were stabbed and stifled in their beds. Hundreds lay stripped, naked and bleeding where they fell. At the close of the day, the King with his whole court, including Catherine and the ladies of her train, walked in the neighborhood of the palace to feast their eyes with a close and minute view of the appalling spectacle. Says an historian of these events, (Weiss,) "Among the many abominations of the time which it is the painful task of the historian to record, none is more odious, more loathsome, more disgusting, than the frontless immodesty, the stony hardness of heart, which degraded women of the loftiest

birth and station during this execrable promenade." For a full week the dreadful massacre continued. Charles himself, took a gun, and from the tower of the Louvre shot at fugitives who attempted to cross the river. The massacre is extended throughout France. Charles sends lying dispatches through the country to the effect that a tumult had arisen between the followers of Guise and Coligny; and the messengers are charged to convey his private orders, that the same scenes shall be repeated in the provinces. At Rome and at Madrid public rejoicings are made. When the tragedy is closed, Charles avows the deed, and has a medal struck to commemorate it with the motto, "*piety excited Justice.*" The Pope receives the news with exultation, and commemorates it with religious pomps, and salvoes of artillery; and orders a medal to be struck, on the one side of which is the effigy of Gregory XIII, and on the other the legend *Hugonotorum strages*, and an angel amidst the victims, with a sword in one hand, and a crucifix in the other. A magnificent fresco, commemorating the scene, is the last picture upon which the Pope's eye rests, as he enters the Sistine chapel, and the first which greets him as he returns from his devotions.

It is most instructive to mark the end of the principal actors in this frightful tragedy, and to take note of the instruments by which their doom was sealed. Charles IX, Henry III, Catherine de Medici, the Duke of Guise, the City of Paris—upon all these actors in that carnival of blood, there fell deaths and scourges so peculiar and so suggestive of retribution, that it would be the very superstition of incredulity to deny that they came from the direct providence of God.

After St. Bartholomew, the character of Charles seemed wholly changed. He grew sullen, silent, fierce. His firm health gave way. A dreadful malady, attended by convulsions, and by the exudation of blood from every pore of his body, and by agonizing pain, and accompanied with all the horror of remorse, robbed him of sleep, and soon brought him to the grave. His moody madness in the night, and the call for music to drive away the terror by which he was tortured, recall to mind the kindred malady of Saul. A short time before he breathed his last, he summoned his physician after midnight, and complained that he was horribly tortured; and then turning to his private nurse by his bed-side, addressed her in

a burst of passionate despair, "What blood! what murder! How evil are the counsels which I have followed! Oh, my God, pardon and pity me! I know not where I am, so grievous is my agony and perplexity! What will be the end of it! What will become of me! I am lost forever!"

Catherine, soft and stealthy, and cruel as a tigress, whose ruling passion was the love of power, suffered a fate which to her was the most bitter that the ingenuity of revenge could have inflicted. She lived to be ignored in the Government by her ungrateful and incompetent son Henry, who succeeded to the throne—she who had guided the councils of four successive kings of France, with the subtlety of a Machiavelli, and the remorselessness of a Nero. When Henry had emancipated himself from her control, and took the most important step in his life—that of the murder of the Duke of Guise, without consulting her—she sickened with chagrin and rage, and died in the 71st year of her age at Blois. "No one," says a contemporary author, "concerned himself with her illness or death; and when her eyes were closed, she was not more spoken of than a dead dog." For thirty years she had been engaged in constructing stately Mausolea in three chapels attached to the Cathedral of St. Denys for herself, and husband and children; but she was consigned to an obscure plebeian grave in the Church at Blois. In her fate and in her fame—the fate and fame of Jezebel—we trace an awful instance of retribution for a frightful cruelty of heart, which assumed the guise of fanatic zeal of which she was entirely destitute, and was exercised in the name of religion—to which she was frivolously indifferent. As the dogs lapped the blood of Jezebel, so the sure hounds of historical justice have seized, torn, and destroyed the name and the fame of Catherine de Medici.

The Duke of Guise was the most splendid and powerful of all the group of nobles that constituted the court. Gifted, aspiring, aiming at the crown, striving to make Charles and Henry *Fainçants*, that he might become a second Hugh Capet, and nearly succeeding in the ambitious aim—a genuine bigot and almost a statesman—he too, had taken a prominent part in designing and executing the massacre of St. Bartholomew. After that event, he organized and became the ruling spirit and the foremost champion of that famous LEAGUE whose object was to extirpate Protestantism and heresy wholly from the land. It was through this agency

that he hoped to grasp the crown. The weak and dissolute Henry was forced by him into the support of the measures of the League. His position of virtual subjection to the Duke and to the League became at length intolerable. An open war, which lacerated and impoverished France, broke out between them. The Duke possessed Paris, and was proclaimed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. Henry fled to Blois, and his cause seemed hopeless. A hollow reconciliation ensued, which placed the King in a position of more helpless dependence upon the Duke than before the war. Master of one art only—that of consummate duplicity, Henry professed the determination henceforth to devote himself to prayer and penitence, and leave the burden of government to be borne by his Mother and the Duke. Luring the Duke to his chamber at an early hour, under the plea of urgent business, Henry stationed an assassin at the entrance; and no sooner had he raised the hanging of the corridor that communicated with the chamber, than he was dispatched by a single blow of a poniard. The arrest of many of the chief Leaguers followed. The Cardinal of Guise, his brother, in blood and in crime, was butchered on the following day, and their bodies were consumed by quick lime at night in the court of the palace, that there might be no relics of those whom their partizans would immediately canonize as martyrs of the Holy League.

And then came the turn of Henry III himself. Even Charles IX, was scarcely more stained with the blood of St. Bartholomew than Henry. A Sardanapalus in luxury, and cruel and suspicious as Tiberius, he combined with these characteristics, frivolity, licentiousness, effeminacy, and a grovelling superstition. Henry was accustomed to dress in silk robes, fashioned much like those of women; to wear rings in his ears and on his hands; and his favorite ornament was a basket hung around his neck in which there were nestled pet young pups. And yet, because his policy led him to oppose and murder the Guises, he was, notwithstanding that his piety was of a stamp dear to Rome, bitterly hated by the Pope, and the High Papal party. The murder of a Cardinal was more than murder—it was sacrilege. The fanaticism of the Pope and the Leaguers was concentrated in the heart of a young Monk and Jesuit, Clement, who with a full knowledge that his own death would immediately follow, obtained access to the closet of the

King, and stabbed him to the heart. It was after learning from theologians that such a deed was not only lawful but meritorious, that the young monk struck the blow. The Pope applauded and gave thanks to God; and the whole Papal party saw behind the deed, not the massacre of St. Bartholomew, but the assassination of the Guises.

But one party to that deed of blood still remained unpunished. The city of Paris had thrown itself into the massacre with that frightful, tiger-like ferocity which it has so many times exhibited in periods of revolution. Its punishment corresponded to its crime. And the instrument of that punishment was one marked out as a victim—Henry of Navarre. On the death of Henry III, he as the next heir succeeded to the throne, and was acknowledged by the larger part of France. But the party of the Guises, in possession of Paris, still resisted. The Capital was invested by the King. The siege lasted three months and seven days. And terrible was the suffering that ensued. Only that of Jerusalem by Titus equalled it in horrors. Nothing in the sieges of Strasbourg and Metz, and in the two recent sieges of Paris approaches in horribleness the scenes then enacted within the beleaguered city. It then contained but 290,000 inhabitants. Its army of defence was 50,000. The besieging force amounted to but 15,000. For about a month the supply of food was sufficient to keep off famine. After that period, one class after another fell under the terrible power of the famine fiend. The monasteries were compelled to disgorge their hidden stores. Gaunt, famished men and women, gathered the herbs and grass from the ramparts and boiled them. Still the pulpits, and wild Monks in the streets, inflamed the fanaticism of the poor dying crowds against the heretic and the Huguenot Henry; and still the cry was death rather than submission. Then ensued scenes of horror which have scarcely a parallel in history. The dead were too numerous to be buried. The skins of beasts, and old fragments of leather were ravenously devoured. All living creatures, the most loathsome, were used for food. Bones were ground up and mixed with blood for bread. Even graves were rifled for this purpose. Before the surrender it is variously estimated that fifty, sixty, and one hundred thousand persons perished by famine. Voltaire, in his *Henriade*, depicts these dreadful scenes.



Poor wasted wretches, grovelling on the stones,  
Fight like gaunt mastiffs for the fleshless bones;  
Wild spectral figures mid the night's deep glooms,  
With hunger frenzied, desecrate the tombs,  
Snatch from the vaults the bodies of the dead,  
And knead their crushed bones into poisonous bread.  
There are no horrors which they will not dare,  
Whose souls are wild with hunger and despair,  
E'en to their own dear dead for food they fly,  
And seek the means to live by which they die.

Surely, the massacre of St. Bartholomew was avenged with an exact and discriminating retribution! The series of illustrations of the truth which God addresses alike to nations and to individuals, "Be sure your sins will find you out," might well be completed by that of Henry IV, himself the instrument of one retribution, and the victim of another. Faithless to the Huguenot cause for which he once fought, and to the solemn oath which he gave to his dying saintly mother, the heroic Protestant Queen of Navarre; a persecutor of the Protestant subjects of his native kingdom, although by the Edict of Nantes, securing by the letter of the law at least, equal privileges to Romanists and Protestants; a renegade to his faith for the prize of the throne of France.—Henry himself, the instrument of the re-introduction of the banished Jesuits into France, fell under the dagger of the Jesuit Ravallac, because he was not all, as a persecutor and upholder of the Roman See, which the Jesuits desired. He was Romanist enough to secure the throne; but not to keep it. A fearful series this of scenes and portraits hung up in the gallery of history over which might be written, in blood-red characters, the solemn word—*retribution!*

But now we come to a period—that of the dreadful persecution of Louis XIV,—which, as it was a movement of the great body of the nation against its minority, the Protestants, so also, was it more distinctly national in the retribution by which it was followed. But that dreadful story needs an introduction.

Henry IV, although he sacrificed his faith to the crown which he could not otherwise have securely held; and allowed the Romanists against the laws of his native Kingdom, Bearn, to acquire ascendancy there, was yet resolute in his determination to secure toleration to the Huguenots throughout France. This was a crime which the Pope, and the Priesthood, and their more bigoted

followers never could forgive. It was because of this toleration that he fell under the poisoned dagger of Ravallac. But this edict was a striking testimony to the moral power of the Huguenots. Although they were less than a tenth part of the population, yet, by their intelligence, their heroism, their high social influence, they had for twenty-five years sustained themselves in war and peace, and had forced the toleration, which would never have been granted had it not been a necessity.

This celebrated edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, was confirmed by the successor of Henry, Louis XIII, in 1610; and by Louis XIV also, in 1643. Immediately after its promulgation, the Protestants organized a National Church, and National and provincial Synods. They numbered in the first half of the seventeenth century, about 2,000,000, and were possessed of nearly 800 Congregations, some of them extremely large. Ranke states, that "they were not only confirmed in the possession of churches actually in their hands, but they had also conferred upon them a share in the public educational institutions, equality with the Catholics as regarded the composition of the chambers of parliament, and the occupation of a great number of fortified places; and in general they were allowed a degree of independence, of which it may well be questioned, whether it were consistent with the idea of a state. About the year 1600, there were reckoned 760 parishes of French Protestants all well ordered; 4,000 of the nobility belonged to that confession, and it was computed that they could bring with ease 25,000 men into the field, and possessed about 200 fortified palaces; a power capable of exacting respect and not to be assailed with impunity."

But they were not long permitted to enjoy repose. Henry had admitted Catholics with distinguishing privileges into Bearn. Louis XIII did more; he established Romanism there as in other parts of his Kingdom, and incorporated the gallant little Protestant Kingdom as an integral part of France. This at once exasperated the Protestants, and war ensued. It was a cruel and bitter war, and ended in the subjection of the insurgents, and the reduction and capture of La Rochelle in 1629 by Cardinal Richelieu. This may be regarded as the termination of the first period of the portion of the history of the Protestants between the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, and its revocation in 1685.

From that period a new era was inaugurated for the Protestants. By the *Edict of grace*, as it was misnamed, the Protestants were deprived of their fortresses, and forbidden to keep up their political organization; and, although not by law, yet from priestly and popular clamor, and from the policy of the Government itself, excluded from nearly all civil offices and employments. The effect of these disabilities on their character was extremely salutary. In the south of France, where, since the dreadful days of the persecution of the Albigenses and Waldenses, opposition to the Papacy most prevailed, they began to devote themselves with great energy to all industrial pursuits. In Languedoc and Provence, and in the mountains of Cevennes, agriculture was conducted with a skill, and the country assumed a degree of prosperity, never known in France before. In the large towns and cities they gave a new and wonderful impulse to trade, and commerce, and manufactures. New inventions in the manufacture of linen, and fabrics of various kinds were introduced. In short, the industrial supremacy of France, during this period, is admitted by all historians, to have been due to this population.

During the second period, also, from 1629 to 1662, the Huguenots distinguished themselves in literature and theology. Daille, Allix, Claude, Basnage, Ancillon, are names whose fame still survives among students of theology and ecclesiastical history. It was a period in which the Huguenots suffered repression and disabilities rather than persecution; but in which individuals could, and did still gain great eminence, and exert a wide and beneficent influence in literature, in law, and in the army and navy, and in a few exceptional cases, in the civil service.

During the third period, from 1662 to 1685, the clouds of persecution which broke with such awful and destructive power at the latter date, were gathering black and heavy over the Protestants. Louis XIV was surrounded by priests, who at the same time alarmed his conscience on account of his licentious life, and promised peace to it, if he would make amends for his sin by zeal in destroying heretics. Then commenced a series of enactments whose object was to completely crush out Protestantism. Protestants must bury their dead at break of day, or in the dusk of evening. Children of Romish fathers and Protestant mothers, must be baptized in the Romish church. The corpses of those

who, having abjured Protestantism, had not received the Sacraments of the Romish Church, were to be drawn naked through the streets on hurdles. No Protestant woman could be employed as a seamstress, or as a midwife. Singing of Psalms in private houses was forbidden; and when the host passed by Protestant places of worship, the singing must cease. Rich Protestant churches shall not be permitted to aid those that are poor. Sick and dying Protestants may be visited by Romish priests, with a view to convert them; and physicians and apothecaries must notify the Romish Curates of all such cases. They were forbidden to contribute for the support of their ministers. Romanists who embraced Protestantism were condemned to the galleys for life; and Protestant ministers were forbidden to allow a Romanist to enter their temples. Every temple in which a Roman Catholic had apostatized must be destroyed. Children of Protestants were permitted to enter the Romish church from the age of seven years. And from all these persecutions the people were forbidden to escape by the severest penalties against expatriation. And worse things followed. The Synods must accept neither legacies nor donations. The ministers must not lament in preaching the wretchedness of the times. An effort was made to destroy all writings against Romanism. The Archbishop of Paris prepared a list of 500 authors whose works, found in the houses of Protestants, were to be seized and burned. Their schools of learning, and Theological schools were broken up. Protestants who were nobles, were deprived of their titles. Protestants could no longer be advocates, surgeons, apothecaries, printers or booksellers. Ingenuity was tortured to invent new disabilities, and to make it impossible for persons to continue to be Protestants and not starve.

Then commenced that horrible system of Dragoonings—the sending of dragoons throughout France, and especially to the south of France—to enforce the laws, and effect the conversion of the Huguenots. The details of their work are marked by a harrowing and horrible uniformity. We will dismiss the account of this period preparatory to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with the description, by a French Protestant historian, Weiss, of some of the scenes which then transpired.

“But the outrages were nowhere more horrible than in the south. At Montauban, the Bishop of Nesmond convoked in the

house of Marshall Bouffleur three neighboring Barons. All at once the lackeys of the household, who had been in ambuscade behind the door, fell upon them unawares, threw them on the ground and forced them to kneel; and while those gentlemen struggled in the hands of the servants, the prelate made over them the sign of the cross, and their conversion was considered accomplished. The peasantry delivered up as prey to the frantic soldiery, were compelled to abjure, after a pretended public deliberation. At Bordeaux, the brother of Bayle who was pastor at Carlat, was thrown by order of Luvois, into a dungeon of the Castle of Trompette called the "*hell*," where he was to remain until he should yield to the converters. He resisted firmly, and after five months of suffering, death delivered him from his torments. Some of the horrible prisons of that Castle were called "*hypocras strainers*," doubtless because the walls arranged in the form of Lozenges, were shaped like retorts. The victims of these could not remain standing, sitting or lying at length. They were let down into them with ropes, and were drawn up again every day to have scourgings inflicted upon them, either with a stick or a strappado. Many, after a few weeks' imprisonment issued from the dungeons of Grenoble without hair or teeth. At Valence, they were cast into a sort of wells, where, by a barbarous refinement of cruelty, the entrails of sheep had been left to rot. Driven to extremity by the inventive barbarity of their executioners, a great number of Protestants feigned to become converts, in order thus to gain time to realize their fortunes, and to flee from the kingdom. In the first days of September, Luvois wrote to the old Chancellor, his father, "60,000 conversions have been made in the district of Bordeaux; and 20,000 in that of Montauban. There remain only 10,000 in all the district of Bordeaux, where, on the 15th of last month, there were 150,000." In a second dispatch he stated, that "he was preparing to overcome the Cevennes, and hoped that before the end of the month not one Huguenot would remain." Finally, in a third dispatch he stated to him, "The number of religionists in this province is about 240,000; and when I asked from you till the 25th of next month for their complete conversion, I took too long a time, for I believe that they will be finished by the end of the present month."

It was in reference to these dreadful scenes, that Madam de

Seigne wrote in the following flippant style to her cousin, the Count du Bussy. "Father Bourdaloue is going by order of the King to preach at Montpellier, and in those provinces where so many people were converted without knowing why. Father Bourdaloue will teach them, and make them good Roman Catholics. The dragoons have been until now very good missionaries; the preachers who will presently be sent will render the work perfect."

And that work the King was made to believe, was about perfected. In the two months of September and October, 1685, it was announced to him that La Rochelle, Montauban, Castres, Montpellier, Nimes and Uzes, had abjured the Protestant faith. The time Louis believed had come for revoking the Edict of Nantes. He announced in the preface that he had long labored to bring all his subjects to the true faith, and that the better and larger part of the pretended Reformed had returned to the bosom of the Church. Hence, the Edict of Nantes being now useless, he revoked all its privileges. By the provisions of this frightful document, the Protestant temples were to be destroyed; all Protestant worship, private and public, was to cease, on penalty of arrest and of confiscation of all the property of the worshippers. Ministers who refused to be converted, were to leave the kingdom in fourteen days. Protestant schools were to be closed, and all children to be brought up in the Romish Church. Refugees who did not return and apostatize in four months, were to have all their property confiscated. Protestants were forbidden to leave the Kingdom on the penalty, if caught, of the galleys, for the men, and imprisonment for the women. They were ordered to remain in the Kingdom until it should please God to enlighten them.

Then followed such scenes as have no parallel but in the persecutions of Diocletian, and the Crusades of Innocent III against the Albigenses and Waldenses. The day that the Edict of Nantes was registered, the demolition was begun of the magnificent temple of Charenton, near Paris, which would contain 14,000 worshippers, the largest Protestant Church probably ever erected, where the most illustrious Congregation in France listened to the impassioned eloquence of those Noble Martyr Men, who preached with matchless power and pathos, that Cross of Christ which



was laid so heavily on themselves. In five days not a trace of the beautiful Church remained. Mr. Cotton, an English traveller in France at that time, witnessed the demolition of the Church of Saumer and at Charenton. He describes the last act of the public worship in the Church of the former. He says that the Congregation all in tears—the singing the last Psalm—the pronouncing of the blessing—the people passing before the minister to receive his benediction, were attended with a solemnity which words could not describe. He says that the sight at Charenton of the vast assembly then convened was most transporting, and the thought of such numbers being devoted to banishment, slavery, and the most barbarous deaths, some of which he witnessed, was more than he could bear.

All over France the work was carried on. More than 500 houses of God were levelled with the ground. In less than a year 600 of the reformed were in the galleys at Marseilles, and as many at Toulon. Many put to sea in small frail crafts, crowded with children and pregnant women, and sick and dying men. Some perished, and some with decimated numbers reached foreign shores. The extent of the emigration is difficult to ascertain. Sismondi vaguely estimates it at between 300,000 and 400,000. Upon the innumerable details of suffering which so wring the heart as to make it almost impossible to pursue the story, we will not attempt to enter. We will speak of them in the words of one of the greatest of pulpit orators, Saurin, who ministered to a Congregation of Refugees at the Hague in Holland.

Imagine this truly great Gospel Orator, closing a sermon of extraordinary power and fervor amidst a vast Congregation, many of them persons of illustrious birth, his fellow-exiles from his beloved France, together with a large number of magistrates of the Republic and Foreign ambassadors, and sympathetic co-religionists from Holland and from other lands. The sermon closes. One of those wailing, pleading *cantiques* of the French Church, which tell so touchingly of its persecuted history, followed. And then Saurin as was his wont poured out one of those prayers, half prayer and half exhortation, which must have gone right to the heart of God! He prayed for the magistrates, and then for various classes of persons in the Congregation. And then he exclaimed,

"Are our prayers all exhausted? Alas! in this day of joy shall we forget our sorrows? Happy inhabitants of these provinces who have been so often troubled with the recital of our miseries. We rejoice over your prosperity, and will you refuse us your compassion? And ye fire-brands plucked from the burning, sad and venerable remnants of our unhappy churches, beloved brethren, whom the calamities of the times have cast upon these shores, shall we forget the miserable relics of ourselves? Groans and lamentations of captives, weeping pastors, mourning virgins, solemn feasts interrupted, roads of Zion spread with mourning, backsliders, martyrs, spectacles of blood, doleful sounds of wailing! be ye the movers of this auditory! Oh God, be Thou touched if not by the ardor of our prayers, at least by the depth of our miseries; if not by the misadventures of our fortunes, at least by the desolation of Thy sanctuaries; if not by these bodies which we painfully drag over the earth, at least by the souls of which they would fain deprive us!"

This allusion to the persecution of the French Protestants seemed to recall his thoughts to the persecuting King. The silence and attention of the audience increased ten-fold. Every one expected an outbreak of indignation, but in place of it, pausing a moment, he uttered the sublime petition: "And thou, mighty prince! whom I once honored as my king and still respect, as the scourge of the Most High, thou shalt have a portion of my prayer! These provinces which thou threatenest with thy wrath, but which the Eternal still upholds against thee; these climes which thou hast peopled with fugitives, but with fugitives which are imbued with charity; these walls which enclose thousands of Martyrs of thy making, but whom faith makes triumphant, shall one day ring with blessing in thy favor. God grant that the fatal bandage which shuts out the truth from thy sight, may fall from thine eyes. May God forget the rivers of blood with which thou hast deluged the land, and which thy reign has caused to increase abroad. May God be pleased to efface from His book the evils which thou hast done to us, while recompensing those who have endured them! God grant that having been the minister of His justice against us and against our Church, thou mayest yet be the minister of His mercies!"

We cannot refrain from quoting another passage, one from a fast-day sermon on the opening of the campaign, so fatal to Louis XIV, in 1706. These were no holiday exhibitions of pulpit eloquence; but the living utterances of present tremendous realities, and of throbbing emotions of awe and expectation in view of possible and probable plans and momentous issues. Rapt as it were into a prophetic elevation of spirit like that of the ancient prophets, he supposes God to have a cause to try between Himself and people; and he presents God as opening the solemn debate by putting to them this question: "My people, what have I done to thee?" "Ah Lord," he answered, "what hast Thou not done to us? The road of Zion filled with weeping; the Gates of Jerusalem desolate; the priests of God in tears; the virgins in affliction; the sanctuaries beaten down; the wilderness peopled with fugitives; the children torn from their parents; the prisons filled with believers; the galleys crowded with martyrs; the blood of our countrymen poured out like water; the venerable corpses of the dead cast into kennels as food for the birds of the air and the beasts of the field; the walls of our temples now heaps of dust and ashes; the flames, the wheels, the gibbets, the tortures unheard of until our century—let them appear to answer and make reply against the Eternal."

The strange dialogue continues. Then in a strain of equal power and pathos he justifies God for these chastisements, because of the sins of His people and because of the love which through these chastisements, would lift them to new heights of holiness. And then he exclaims, "Such is the cause which the Lord brings against you; justify yourselves, plead, reply. What have you to say in your favor? How will you justify your ingratitude? And then when he saw his audience confused and consternated, he replied in their behalf in the sublime words of Micah, 'Wherewithal shall I come before the Lord, &c?'"

From this period, far into the following century, this dreadful system of persecution was relentlessly carried out. In lower Languedoc, and especially in the mountainous district of the Cevennes, the Protestants congregated in caves and in wild mountain glens, and maintained their worship and their organization. The kindred circumstances in which they were placed imparted to these Camisards as they were called, a heroism and fanaticism similar to that of the Cameronians in Scotland. They exhibited the utmost

heroism and joy in the midst of imprisonment, tortures, and sufferings of every kind. Their enthusiasm gave rise to exhibitions of what were regarded as inspired prophesyings. In the single month of November, 1701, 200 prophets were seized in the Cevennes and condemned to the galleys and to military service. The number of the inspired in Languedoc in 1702, was estimated at 8,000. These prophesyings were attended with convulsions. Some who were sent out to capture the prophets, threw down their weapons and spake with new tongues, and were thrown into the same state of convulsions as the prophets.

The relentless cruelty of the agents of the Government against these enthusiasts provoked retaliation. The Camisards, under a leader, La Porte, committed outrages against the Church and the Clergy. The General Broglie was sent against them with a force of infantry and dragoons. In the neighborhood of Nismes they waited for the attack, kneeling and singing hymns. When they arose they put their assailants immediately to flight. A much stronger force was called in and put the rebels down; and Nismes and the whole surrounding country was treated with the utmost severity. Thousands, merely suspected of Protestantism, were thrust into prison. Discovered conventicles were burnt over the heads of the worshippers; and those who escaped from the fire were dispatched by the dragoons.

This heroism of the Camisards, and of the more sober Huguenots in the south of France excited the admiration and sympathy of the Protestants in England and in Holland. Money was sent to them from both those countries. Camisards were successful in many battles in the wild mountains of the Cevennes. But their great leader Cavalier was bought off by the Government; and after desultory resistance for a few years all open opposition to the Government ceased in 1706. Many Refugees from this region appeared in Switzerland and England. John Cavalier, and two others who claimed to possess the gift of prophesying, created much excitement, and won some converts in London. An English nobleman, Lord Lacy, professed to have experienced and to exercise the prophetic inspiration. The Bishop of London demanded an investigation of the matter. The consistory pronounced these alleged inspirations to be carnal and imaginary. The press and the populace took part for and against these prophesyings, and

commotions often arose at the Conventicles which required the intervention of the police.

Besides these enthusiastic and fanatical types of Protestantism, there were also in the south of France pastors and preachers who held in sobriety the faith of the Reformed. Conspicuous among them was *Anton Court* of Nismes, who labored with singular tact and boldness to recover the Camisards from their extravagances. In 1715, he gathered an assembly of the clergy and a few of the laity, with a view of giving as much coherence and unity as possible to flocks which were scattered, who could not openly avow their faith, and could meet only in secret. They utterly discarded the new pretended inspiration. Other Synods at his suggestion were held in other parts of the country. The scattered secret Church assumed something of order and of mutual understanding and fellowship. But although the violence and the extravagances of the Camisards had ceased, the Government was no more inclined than before to moderation. Louis XV enacted in 1724, the law of Louis XIV against the Huguenots, and made some severe additions to it. The religious assemblies were forbidden with double strictness. Children, as soon as they were born, were required to be baptized by Romish priests. Protestants were compelled to send their children to the Romish priests to be instructed in the faith. They were prohibited from sending their children out of the country for education. No Protestant could exercise the professions heretofore forbidden. House searchings, quartering of soldiers, imprisonment, confiscation, exiles, forced divorces, were constantly taking place. In the south of France executions still took place. In 1732, two preachers, discovered in the exercise of their ministry, were hanged. Later, two suffered the same fate at Grenoble, and one at Montpellier. As late as 1745 new edicts, and still more stringent against the Protestants, were issued. The most heart-rending representations and appeals for mercy to the Crown were of no avail.

But at length, in 1762 a case occurred which put an end to the penalty of death, and mitigated the severity of the persecutions. This was the case, which has since become celebrated, of John Cales. He was a Protestant of 68 years of age. For forty years he had lived as a merchant in Toulouse, and enjoyed the reputation of being a plain and upright citizen. He had brought up his

children as Protestants. One of his sons became a Romanist; and the eldest, falling into melancholy, hung himself. The cry at once arose that his father had hanged him, or caused him to be hanged, because he too had wished to join the Church of Rome. The authorities credited the charge, and the father and mother and other members of the family were cast into prison. The suicide was honored as a Roman saint and martyr. In the following year there was a celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the slaughter of 400 Huguenots in Toulouse; and it was felt that the occasion would be appropriately honored by the sacrifice of Cales. Accordingly, although under torture, he solemnly denied the charge, he was broken upon the wheel and his body was burned.

The knowledge of these events having reached Voltaire, led to his celebrated treatise on toleration. He vividly described the circumstances of the case in all their enormity. In consequence of his representations, the trial of Cales was reviewed by the Royal Council of State; and in the year 1765, the judgment of Toulouse was reversed. This was the last execution of a Protestant by law in France. The treatise of Voltaire urged toleration on general grounds, and did not exhibit the bitter hostility to Christianity which he felt, and which he subsequently so fully expressed. A strange and shameful anomaly it was that a Christian state should be first taught the duty of toleration by an infidel!

Such, for more than 200 years, were the persecutions suffered by France. No case of persecution of Christians by Christians surpasses it in atrocity, and none equals it in its extent, and in the amount of the miseries which it entailed. None we may add has furnished nobler Christians or more heroic Christian Martyrs. The results of these persecutions upon France and their agency in developing the religion and the spirit of freedom, which they attempted to destroy, furnish very signal and impressive instances of national retribution. Notwithstanding the severe penalties denounced against emigration, it continued from every part of France by land and sea. The dispersion of the Huguenot refugees over every part of Europe and to the United States, constitutes an exceedingly interesting chapter in the history of Protestantism during the seventeenth century. They became a most important and valuable portion of the population in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and the United States, many of them



eminent in learning, art, war, and religion; and all of them swelling that tide of popular principles—the principles of free Government—which at length overwhelmed France herself at first as a fiery scourge, but which, as we believe, will ultimately give peace and blessing to that now bleeding land.

The French refugees to this country have been an important element in that composite of various nationalities, which formed a citizenship fit for Republicanism. Before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, some refugees (about 1662,) settled in Boston. In New York they were much more numerous. As early as 1656, their number and their influence was so great that public documents were in French, as well as English and Dutch. Some also at the same period settled in Maryland and Virginia. In the two Carolinas they arrived at the same time as the English Colonists in Virginia and Massachusetts; and were put on a footing of perfect equality with them. New Rochelle, sixteen miles north of New York, was a town entirely composed of French Refugees. Too poor at first to build a Church, they were accustomed to walk to New York on Saturday night, attend two services on Sunday, and return on Sunday night. A settlement was also made on the Delaware river. An agricultural settlement on James river below Richmond, became celebrated for its prosperity and thrift. But it was in Charleston, and its immediate neighborhood, that the largest and most favorite and successful settlements were made. In all these places they were warmly welcomed, large grants of land being made to them, and every facility afforded them of carrying on their farms and trades.

These Refugees almost universally embraced the cause of their adopted country in the war of Independence. Many of them rendered the most important services, and have left behind them very honored names in our history. Charleston, especially, was prolific of eminent men descended from these Refugees. A large portion of the present names of the most prominent citizens of South Carolina indicate their Huguenot descent. Marion, the celebrated partizan ranger, was a descendant of one of these exiles. Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, was another. Of the seven Presidents of the Continental Congress during the war of Independence, three were descendants of French emigrants, and all distinguished men—Laurens, John Jay, afterwards Chief Justice

and Minister to England, and Elias Boudinot. A Huguenot Church at Charleston alone, still retains its original character. It uses (or did before the war) a Liturgy of the French Protestant Church, translated from the editions of 1737 and 1772, published at Neuchatel and altered and adapted to their use.

It had been the fraternal policy of England for more than a hundred years, to befriend the persecuted Protestants of France. She received large numbers of fugitives whom the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the cruelties of the Duke of Alva, in the Netherlands, had driven into that country from France. French and German Protestant Churches were established and protected in London, in Canterbury, and in about twelve other prominent cities in England in the reign of Edward VI. Elizabeth had sent some aid to them during their wars with the Romanists of France. James had interposed for the fulfillment of the Edict of Nantes. Charles I, had sent an expedition under the incompetent favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, for the aid of La Rochelle, invested by Richelieu, which was a disgraceful failure. Cromwell had interposed with a high hand with some success to prevent the persecutions of the Waldenses in Savoy, and of the Huguenots in France. England was therefore prepared to receive the Refugees, who began to pour into the Kingdom as early as the reign of Charles II. They came chiefly from the Western Provinces, Normandy, Brittany, Picardy, Guienne, and their numbers greatly increased after the dreadful Edict of 1685. They were welcomed from policy and necessity, by the secret Romanist, Charles II, and from the same causes, more reluctantly, by the open and bigoted Romanist James II, and cordially by King William, and Queen Anne. They were allowed to be naturalized; to have their furniture and merchandize enter the Kingdom free of duty; and contributions for their aid were recommended by the Government and by the Church authorities. It is estimated that 80,000 Refugees had entered into England at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In London alone they had thirty-one Churches as early as 1720. Some of the Refugees from Cambray, Amiens, and Torquay, chiefly artisans, settled in Edinburgh; and the quarter which they occupied is still called Picardy. They retained the use of the French language until the close of the eighteenth century. After the battle of the Boyne and the subjugation of Ireland, colonies of Refugees also settled in Dublin and Cork, and other cities under the protection of King William.

Among the most illustrious of the Refugees was Marshall Schomberg, who had risen to that high position by his brilliant services in France. He accompanied and commanded the army of William of Orange, when he entered England; and subsequently commanded the army of England at the battle of the Boyne, at which he was killed. But while many of the Refugees occupied honorable positions in the army, and others were prosperous in professional life, not many of them, as in Germany and Holland, were promoted to the highest posts of official honor. The influence and usefulness of the Refugees appeared chiefly in commercial, and especially in the manufacturing interests. Of the 80,000 estimated exiles, at least 70,000 were manufacturers and artisans. It is not too much to say that France by her insane persecution of her most skillful, sober, and industrious population, transferred the commercial and industrial supremacy of Europe from herself to England. She was far in advance of England in the middle of the seventeenth century, and far behind her at the beginning of the eighteenth; and so she has remained. It was from these skillful artisans that there was introduced into England the secret of the manufacture of the finer cloths, and fine paper, of silks and of linen, and of many of those finer kinds of fabrics, and those more elaborate and artistic styles of ornamental and household furniture, which they had been accustomed to import. France, by her persecution of the Huguenots, impoverished herself, and built up the supremacy of the rival whom for centuries she had fought and regarded with scornful hatred; and who at Waterloo subjected her to the greatest humiliation (the greatest, we must now say, but one)—to which she has ever been subjected!

Nor was the result of the immigration to Holland less marked in its influence upon the fortunes of the French. It was the most numerous, and in some respects, the most important of all the emigrations. From the Middle Ages, Holland had been the asylum of those who fled from persecution from all parts of Europe. The religious truths of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, peopled them with crowds of exiles. During the reign of Mary of England, 30,000 found refuge there. During the thirty years' war, thousands fled before the armies of Wallenstein and Tilly, and settled upon the Amstel, the Yesel, and the Rhine. But still more numerous and important were the immigrations of the Walloons, the

Barbancons, and the Flemings, who escaped from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, and the Duke of Parma. The number of Protestants was so great in the Low Countries, that they would beyond all question have become almost universally Protestant but for the terribly ferocious persecutions of the Duke of Alva.

It was natural therefore that the persecuted French should seek an asylum which had been opened for brethren who spoke the same language, and adopted the same creed. The immigration began to be numerous in 1585, and increased greatly under Louis XIV; and of course more fully after his fatal edict of 1685. From that period the Western provinces of France poured in a constant stream of Refugees, many of whom became eminent in literature, in science, and in theology. Every facility was furnished for their settlement in the country. The number of immigrants before the close of the seventeenth century is estimated at 80,000, and in the subsequent century it could not have fallen short of 300,000. In Amsterdam alone they amounted to 15,000 before the close of the seventeenth century, and constituted a separate quarter of the city; and a similar proportion occupied the Hague and many other cities. As in England and Germany, they were instrumental in establishing new branches of industry and increasing the commerce of the country. Holland rose to an unexampled degree of prosperity. But this immigration was particularly distinguished by the immense number of learned scholars, and authors, and preachers, who upheld and gave *eclat* to Protestantism throughout Europe. There Saurin, Claude, Jurieu, Basnage, Lenfant, and a host of scholars whose names and fame are yet fresh in the memory of the Church, lived and labored in sad and heroic exile.

But that which bears most distinctively the mark of retribution is the fact that the armies of William of Orange, subsequently William III, of England, the most persistent and successful military foe of Louis XIVth, were so largely replenished, and so conspicuously improved by the skill and gallantry of the Refugee soldiers and officers of France. France gave to the leadership of the armies which prevented the constantly repeated effort to make the Rhine the boundary of France, and to subject England to Rome, the first general of his age, the illustrious and good Marshal Schomberg. All that scientific skill in the organization of armies, in the art of fortification, and in the manufacture of arms, in which France

surpassed every other state in Europe, she herself was the instrument of imparting to her most powerful and persistent foe!

The influence in the same direction of the Refugees in several of the smaller German states was considerable. But their agency in the development of the Duchy of Brandenburg into the powerful kingdom of Prussia, was remarkable, and becomes an exceedingly interesting and impressive fact, in view of the recent wonderful war in Europe. The emigration of Huguenots to Brandenburg began before the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The Margrave of Brandenburg, John George, who was educated in France, in the Protestant University of Saumur, openly professed the Reformed faith in 1614. His son, Frederick William, received a French and Protestant education in Holland, whither he was sent by his father in early youth. On his accession in 1640 he found the Duchy desolated and depopulated, and in the last stage of exhaustion through the long ravages of war. He determined at once to avail himself of the persecutions of Louis XIV, to replenish his kingdom with as many refugees from France as he could secure. He was prompted to this course both by his principles and his interests. As early as 1661 several French families took up their abode in Berlin. In 1672 a French church was formed in that city. Immediately after the dreadful edict of 1685, Frederic issued the edict of Potsdam, in which he assured the persecuted Protestants of welcome and protection, and employment in his dominions. His representatives in other Protestant States of Europe were instructed to aid the Refugees in their journey to Brandenburg. The freedom of the boroughs was secured to them wherever they chose to reside. They were at once admitted to the corporations of their respective trades. Manufacturers were aided in setting their establishments on foot. To agriculturists land was given. Upon Refugee nobles and officers, honors and dignities were bestowed. In cases where they purchased fiefs, they enjoyed the same privileges as the native nobility. They were allowed to appoint judges for the settlement of difficulties with each other. They had, as in France, their own courts, synods, and consistories. So favorable was their condition in Brandenburg that their colonies were constantly increased by Refugees who had settled at first in Holland, Switzerland, and England. The resources of Frederick were so strained to meet his engagements to the immigrants that, in the con-

viction that they would ultimately greatly benefit his kingdom, he contributed largely of his own means, and abstained from imposing onerous taxes upon his subjects.

The number of exiles settled in Brandenburg at the beginning of the eighteenth century was about 25,000. One of the most eminent of the promoters of the immigration was Ancillon, subsequently court preacher at Berlin, and the pastor of the church at Metz. Every class was included in this immigration, soldiers, gentlemen, nobles, men of letters, artists, merchants, manufacturers, agriculturists, and common laborers. All aided in reviving the country, and imparting to it strength and reputation throughout Europe. It is not too much to say that this Duchy of Brandenburg, exhausted as it had been by long wars and disasters, was enabled to assume its place as a kingdom in Europe through the new vitality imparted to it by exiled and persecuted Protestants of France. In short France, by her persecution, created the kingdom of Prussia, and Prussia is now standing victorious over prostrate, and crushed, and bleeding France! Truly there is a God that judgeth and avengeth! Do we err then in the conviction that we see the hand of God in the dreadful chastisements that have fallen, and are now pressing so awfully on the heart of France? God teaches us that the calamities of nations like those of individuals, are the consequences of their sins. "Oh Assyrian, the rod of Mine anger, and the staff in their hand, is *Mine indignation*." It is in no spirit of indifference to the dreadful sufferings of France that these thoughts are uttered, but in the reverent spirit which sees amid the frightful collisions of human passion, and the scenes of carnage and of woe which they produce, the awful and majestic form of Justice, wielding the flaming sword of retribution, on whose hilt are engraved the words which form an eternal moral law: "Be sure your sins will find you out."

This impressive lesson was read in a previous portion of the history of France by one of her sons, who was little likely to err on the side of a superstitious interpretation of the events of history. When the French Revolution was drawing on, and the Constituent Assembly was about to confiscate the entire ecclesiastical property of France, and pension upon the state alike its great ecclesiastics, and its humblest priests, and was about to extend toleration to all forms of religious faith, the higher clergy of France—the class that had so remorselessly pushed forward the persecution of



the Huguenots—exclaimed against it as a sin and sacrilege. But the great Mirabeau, whose impassioned speech decided the question in the Assembly, saw in it the just retribution for the day of St. Bartholomew, and the unspeakable horrors of a century of persecution. When an ecclesiastical orator, most unskillfully for such a crisis, called to mind the oath made by Louis XIV, to maintain the Catholic religion to the exclusion of every other, Mirabeau shook his lion-like shock of hair and exclaimed, with an indignation which thrilled and carried away the assembly, “I am not surprised that reference is made to a reign in which the edict of Nantes was revoked. But consider. From this tribune from which I address you I see that fatal window where a king, the murderer of his people, fired the signal gun for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. I will say no more. There is no ground for hesitation.” And the assembly did not hesitate. As the crimes and oppressions of the nobles and the government, so, no less, the persecutions of the church and of the priesthood were punished and avenged by the French Revolution.\*

The world has looked with stupified amazement on the recent unparalleled victory of Germany over France. It traces the conquest,—justly when viewed in reference to its immediate agents,—to the intelligence, the discipline, the physical and mental vigor, and the indomitable will of her mighty armies; to the unmatched skill of her great generals; and to the proud patriotism and passion of United Germany.

But those armies have been trained, and disciplined, and led by other hands than those of skillful strategists and soldiers. The moral laws of God’s government of the nations have been marshalling, and moulding, and inspiring, and heralding, and leading on those mighty hosts to victory; and the same laws have paralyzed and crushed an army hitherto invincible. Other scouts and Uhlans than those which dashed so gallantly over France had preceded them, and prepared the way of conquest—even the pride that goeth before destruction, and the haughty spirit, the luxury, the corruption, and the godless theories that go before, and make inevitable, a fall.

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\* It is a circumstance that strikes one in this connection, that the battle which constituted the turning-point of the recent struggle between France and Prussia—the battle of Sedan—was fought on St. Bartholomew’s day.

## ART. IV.—RUNIC SKETCHES.

*Translated from the Swedish of the REV. B. J. GLASELL, Chaplain of the Royal Swedish Navy, formerly Missionary in India, &c.*

THE system of religious fables usually called Mythology, deserves to be regarded far otherwise than as merely the fantastic dreams of a delirious imagination. These tales undoubtedly involve profound spiritual thought, and are to be considered as the intelligent efforts of the soul longing after peace and rest. We may overestimate them, and we do so, when we overlook their vain attempts to throw light upon the enigmas of this world and of that which is to come. We may also underestimate them, and we do this, when we deny to the human soul its truly Christian essence, inasmuch as it is only in Christ that it finds what it needs to enable it to lead a life of true righteousness.

Three classes of mythological stories may be noticed as making their appearance among different heathen nations. First, we find races, tribes, or nations with little, or no mythology, as, for instance, those of the interior of Africa. See the accounts given by Sir Samuel Baker and Dr. Livingstone of their explorations in this direction.

Secondly, we have heathen races exhibiting a varied and extensive system of mythology, but very superficial. Such are the mythologies of the Hindoos, and the Greeks\* of similar descent.

Thirdly, there are heathen nations with mythologies of a higher and more profound character, such as the Germans, the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians.

Not less peculiar to the north than the Aurora Borealis is the mythology which our heathen forefathers, in the unimpaired strength of their nature, thought out and created for themselves. It is an echo of life's contests, an anticipation of victory, and a yearning after peace. The Aurora Borealis is, undoubtedly, but

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\* Grundtvig in his "Brage-Suak," (Copenhagen, 1844) has handsomely discussed the relations of Greek and Northern Mythology.—Tn.

a faint light when compared with the morning sun, and still weaker is the mythology of our ancestors alongside of the light of Christianity; but contrasted with the darkness of night, the Aurora is a kind of light, and amid the night of heathenism, our mythology, compared with that of other races, takes a very high rank; for here reason has not become altogether irrational, nor the will entirely overwhelmed in the base service of the sensual passions. There is a spiritual richness, a strength of will and a depth of feeling in our northern mythology, of which we vainly seek traces in the mythologies of other heathen races. Was it because the Lord, who never leaves Himself without a witness, in this way gave us a richer measure than others have received? No! but it was because our forefathers more faithfully attended to this testimony, so that however much they misused it, they never departed so far from God as to change Him into the likeness of a beast; and just as little did they so far forget themselves as to debase themselves beneath the irrational animals by plunging into unnatural excesses and vices. Respect for themselves, for the individual in general, which is so marked a feature in the character of the Northman, is a reflection of the faith in which he recognized "*the mighty Above*,"\* the power on high, which was stronger than the gods, and which alone had the power and happiness whereof the gods themselves were no less in need than men.

The rays which like shooting stars shot through the night of heathenism, and which are recognized in the mythologies of heathen peoples, are a witness to the truth, and its original preservative, for they reveal a common original of the light from which they have all come forth. It is also remarkable how these wide-spread rays of a common revelation lose themselves just there where the peoples were separated, and unlike languages set a limit to the outward unity which had hitherto existed. Thus from the interrupted building of Babel's tower every people took along with its new language the old memories, and no less the fresh remembrance of that which had caused the upbreking and separation. The creation of the world, and of man especially, his temptation and fall, his expulsion from Paradise, the hallowing of the seventh day, a prevalent wickedness which reaches its height in a race

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\* "Den Starke ofvan."

half man and half devil, the irruption of the flood and the drowning of the human race, all this is reflected, either more strongly or more faintly, and with the self-same deflections, in the mythologies of almost all nations. Whilst the so-called sacred records of many people represent the creation as having taken place long before the occurrence of the great flood, our Eddas place it just at the period immediately preceding that flood, and so connect the creation with it. The creation and arrangement of the world appeared to the ancient Skandinavians to be a result of the combination of cold and heat. Mild, warm beams of light from one end of the infinite and waste abyss, or *Ginunzagap*,\* which was found at time's commencement, and cold, moist mists, from the other end, meet each other, whereupon Ymer, a mighty giant, makes his appearance. As Ymer was a sworn foe to the gods they slew him, and drowned in his blood all his offspring except two, Bergelmer and his wife, who saved themselves in a boat. Then of Ymer's body heaven and earth were formed. His flesh formed the ground, his blood the sea, the mountains were made of his bones, the forests of his hair, and heaven of his skull, under the four corners of which were set dwarfs to bear it up, and they were called North, South, East, and West. From Ymer's brains were formed the clouds, behind which sparks issuing from *Muspelhem*,† glittered as the stars upon the firmament. The sun and moon came afterwards, and, along with them, day and night.

Besides Ymer another being had come forth when the ice disappeared before the heat, namely, *Audumbla-acon*. She nourished Ymer with her milk, but she herself lived for the purpose of consuming the hoarfrost which settled upon the salt stones. In the same wonderful manner was formed a man who was called *Bure*, and became the progenitor of the gods, just as Ymer was of the giants. The gods dwelt in *Midgard*,‡ a strong castle which they built for themselves (out of Ymer's eyebrows) in the midst of the earth. Then, once upon a time, they discovered upon the sea-shore, two trees, *Ask* and *Embla*, "little availing, purposeless." To these they gave life, soul and beauty, and also placed

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\* *Chaos*.† The first made world "in the southern sphere, so bright and hot that it burns and blazes, and may not be trodden by strangers who have no heritage there."—*Snorra-Edda*.‡ Compare the Greek *Olympus*.—*Tn*.

them with themselves in Midgard.\* They became the progenitors of the human race, and of this newly created race the gods determined to make allies in their contest with the powers of evil, against whom they were by no means secure. But in these mythologies the life of man appears unimportant and well nigh idle. It is the gods and higher beings, both good and bad, that form the chief personages around whom the incessant contest of all the sagas revolve. Men seem, as it were, too weak and powerless to participate in these contests. They stand there as mere spectators.

A personal, living God, who creates out of nothing, and with His word calls into life that which was not, is vainly sought in the accounts of the world's creation presented in our mythology. On the other hand, He is presented in sketches of the world's destruction in tolerably clear features, although He is and remains essentially unknown to the thoughts of heathen men. Meanwhile, that life is a contest, was deeply comprehended by our forefathers, but not less deeply, this also, that the end of the contest is deliverance and victory. The prophecies in regard to Ragnarock, or the world's destruction, is a swan's song, in which the dying heathenism of the North sings the death of its gods and its own death also, before rising out of this into a life of higher import than it had hitherto led, embittered by strife and restlessness. Thus it does not despair of God and man, although itself sinks for the want of strength to sustain it.

The world's last time, according to our mythology,† presents an image of the deepest wretchedness. Dissolution and strife everywhere prevail. Evil celebrates a short-lived triumph, but only that it may forever vanish from the earth, which is about to come forth from the dread conflagration. The world of spirits is in full activity, both before and during the great contest which is to be fought out. The gods have not been able to constrain the evil, which now obtains an unheard-of power, and every idea of a peaceful solution is idle. In the world of man all bonds are broken, all nobler feelings extinct. There is no faith, no love; falsehood and hatred rule unrestrained. "Brothers are at strife, and slay each other. Friends forget their friends. It is the age of the axe: the

\* The Snorra-Edda says, "under Midgard."—Ta.

† The sketch here given is based mainly upon the *Völuspá*.—Ta.

age of the sword. Shields are cleft. No one can trust another."\* That is a complaining voice out of the depths of the dissatisfied human heart. But even so does sighing nature complain amid that "storm-age, murder-age whilst the world is falling."† The moon is plucked up, the sun is darkened, all the air becomes a storm, and a winter‡ of three years' duration freezes up everything upon the earth with a coldness that has no parallel. The ash-tree, Ygdrasil shivers, and the eagle in its top sings its death-song. Midgard's worm ascends from the depths of the sea. Loke and the wolf Fenris are loosed from their dens. "The world of giants is filled with tumult." The Asas (gods) are assembled, and draw out their forces in arms upon Wigrid's§ plain. There now the fight rages between the gods and the powers of evil; but neither of them conquers. The wolf Fenris does indeed swallow up, Odin but is himself cut in sunder by Odin's song.|| Thor slays the Midgard's worm, but is overpowered by its venom. Loke and Heimdall slay each other. "Frey stands against Surtur, as the defenceless flower against the devouring flame," and whilst Surtur casts fire around upon the earth, "The rocky mountains break, the heavens are burst, and the gods fall."

The chief personages in our northern mythology were Thor, Odin and Freya. Thor was regarded as the god of strength, manly courage and power. By his hammer called Mjølner all that came in his way was broken in pieces. Thor's life was a constant contest against the spiritual powers of evil, as well as against the magical arts of men. He is the chief of the gods of the North. Upon the right side of his image Odin, upon the left side, Frey is represented. It is thus seen that Thor had his place assigned to be, as it were, a guard or defender of courage and bravery, to contend for the beautiful, the good, and the true. Not knowledge, not beauty, but courage was the real ideal that fixed the attention of the inhabitant of the North. Thor had his abode in Trudvang, the kingdom of truth. He was worshiped in the

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\* Völuspá, stanza 41.

† Ibid.

‡ Called in the Snorra-Edda "Fimbul-winter."—Tn.

§ The Vigrithr of the Edda, where it is said, "The field Vigrithr is a hundred miles wide every way."—Tn.

|| Vitharr, who "steps with one foot on the jaw of the wolf; with one hand takes the upper jaw of the wolf god."



North long before Odin, and the later doctrine of the Asas probably received its sharp warlike impress from that ancient worship of Odin, which was so deeply rooted that Odin himself had to become a sort of war-god, and the father of Thor in order to gain the confidence of the North. Yea, Odin's wisdom directed him also, when he settled in our country, to take the same friendly position towards the popular faith, as he did to the existing government. Thor became Asa Thor, and Odin's son, a proof, on the other hand, of the strength of the Asa doctrine. But yet, Thor still continued to be the principal god, the people's god, and the many villages and farms, which still bear his name, are the best evidence of the universality of his worship, just as he is also in the circle of the days of the week, a sort of central point, having three days on either side of that which is named from him (Thursday). To Odin were pre-eminently ascribed wisdom and science. His thirst for knowledge is said to have been so strong, that no sacrifice was too great, no labor too severe when it availed to put him in possession thereof. He is, therefore, said to have pledged one of his eyes to Mimir (the god of memory-history) to be allowed to drink continually at his fountain of wisdom, and to have worked his way through a mountain to obtain the mead which was there kept by a giant's daughter, Ganolæda, and which gave to him who drank thereof the power of seeing through the nature of things, and of reproducing them in a becoming and beautiful form. Through his two bodies Hugin and Munin (thought and memory) he is connected with the past and the future. Time was regarded by our forefathers as one indivisible whole, the future being the natural result of the past, to which it is united by the present. Every ninth day there dropped out of his ring, called Dropner, eight new rings to give, as it were, authority to the world's transactions and the inherent order of things, and to measure off space as parts of a common whole. Upon his light-footed horse, Sleipner, he hastens forward over hill and vale, as unconstrained and easy as the old northern song upon the eight feet of its verse hurried by the heavy forms of expression for every-day affairs (prose). This Sleipner also had runes upon his teeth, just as Odin's spear, Gangner, had upon its point, for "wisdom is more necessary than far travel." Odin's abode is Vallhalla, where the spirit of war burns undimmed among those who come thither after death upon the bloody field of battle.

Frey was the god of peace and of the fruits of the earth. He was, therefore, invoked for good seasons and harvests. The goose, the symbol of prosperity and joyfulness, was sacrificed to him. In his ship, called *Skidbladner*, he sailed equally well in a favorable or an unfavorable wind, and when the voyage was ended, the ship could be folded together into a size that would not more than fill a vest-pocket!

Our forefathers' imagination had also brought forth a multitude of inferior divinities. Life's necessities are innumerable, and in all these man knew himself to stand in need of help. As the superior divinities, according to the universal conceptions of heathenism, yea, according to man's natural ideas, could not be supposed to condescend so as to devote their attention to the petty troubles and trifles of every-day life, so these small affairs fell to the lot of the inferior gods.\* But even the so-called, "great gods," took these inferior gods as well as men under their care. Remarkable in this connection is the story of Balder, "the glittering white," the god of innocence, of kindness, and of goodness, the darling of gods and of men. He fell a sacrifice to the treachery of the hypocritical Loke. But if innocence is overwhelmed in the death of Balder, his son Forsete, the god of righteousness, still exists, and he survives Balder as if to assure us of the triumph of the good even in death!

The powers of evil are also incorporated in our mythology. Yet, they do not stand aloof from the gods without bestirring themselves within their domains; yea, they also have the blood of the gods in their veins, but are too weak to overcome them, whilst the latter also are too weak to entirely subjugate the former. It is in Christianity first that the power of evil, the head of the serpent, is crushed and sin finds its grave out of which it is never to arise. Loke, the wolf Fenris, and Midgard's worm are the evil powers of these sagas. Over the wolf Fenris the power of the gods extends so far that they finally succeed in binding him with a silk-thread band, called *Gleipner*, twisted together out of "the sound of a cat's step and a woman's beard, a moun-

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\* *Curat magna Deus; fortuna parva relinquit*," says an ancient Poet. And the same idea was likewise transferred to the acts of persons in the loftier stations of life.

"*Prætor non minima curat*,"—"the judge does not take notice of trifles." Far different is the teaching of God's word. "*Not a sparrow can fall without your Father.*" "The very hairs of your heads are numbered." See Matt. xviii. 4; Luke xvi. 10.

tain's roots, a fish's breath and a bird's spit." But it is only for a time that he is made harmless, and raging and raving wickedness overthrown by quiet, mild, and gentle goodness. To kill it they were not able, just as little as they were able with all the weeping of life and of death, yea, the tears of all creation, to ransom Balder from hell; for Loke was invincible, and wept no other tears than such as were dry.

By the side of these male divinities there were also women. Besides the wives of the gods, the sagas present many others as objects of fear and reverence. The Nornas are the goddesses of fate, and three in number, namely, Urd, Varande, and Skuld. They are said to sit by the fountain of Urd, or life, under the shadow of the ash Ygdrasil, and to spin man's life-thread, the form of the earthly life, and to determine its course and termination. The Valkyrias, or goddesses of battle, attended upon the battle-fields of earth, and in the heavenly halls of fight, or Valhalla; from the former they carried home fallen heroes, whom they afterwards refreshed in their new home with flesh and mead. Subordinate to these were the Alfs, a kind of spiritual beings which were divided into those of the light which were represented as brighter than the sun, and dwelling in Alfhem, and evil Alfs regarded as blacker than pitch, and living under the earth. The former took towards the gods the same friendly relation that the latter did towards the giants. All space within the visible and the invisible world, that thought or imagination could penetrate, our mythology has in this manner, sought to fill up with life and activity. That is a profound cosmogony, the solution of which lies within man's own life.

Such were the gods and supernal beings that our forbathers in their heathenish darkness fashioned for themselves. Our mythology does not conceal that they are dependent and transitory beings, and the deep consciousness of this which pervades it no less pervades the gods themselves, who anticipate their own imminent destruction in and with the fall of Balder. All that wise, powerful and noble men thought out for themselves, and as it were, incorporated in these gods, is essentially earthly, and as such falls into obscurity and evanescence, so soon as faith can no longer embrace it. Without Mimer's well Odin was no wiser, without Mjælner, Thor was no stronger than other men. Even virtue and

innocence, as we find them in Balder, are not in themselves strong enough to bid defiance to decay. Thor is circumvented by the giant Utgård-Loke, and by the wolf Fenris; and Frey is blinded by love for the beautiful Gerda to lose his sword, and so contribute to the overthrow of the gods. The gods are subjected to the decrees of the Nornas, and these, in turn, are as transitory as time over which they ought to bear rule. Vainly does our mythology allow its gods to contend with the most resolute courage; vainly is wickedness punished and bound with the severest plagues and strongest hand; vainly are the knots and riddles of life opened by the rune-twined sword; their enemies revile only the more fiercely; evil grows stronger in the fetters forged for it, and the confusion is increased by every new attempt to obtain light and clearness of vision for themselves. Mimer's well is dried up. The twilight comes on; but the spirit still strives, for it longs and forebodes something yet to come. Too great and mighty has it known itself to be to take any ease or rest in nature's darkness. The doctrine of the Asas does not, therefore, despair. Life is to it too great a contest to permit of its closing here, and too deeply real, to be able to be lived only here. Undoubtedly its gods are overwhelmed, and with them all human strength and wisdom, nobility and goodness. The halls of its gods are empty; the light which burned there is quenched. But out of the flames of the burning earth arises a new one upon which the Asas and Reintressas no longer contend. The two golden tablets which the gods owned in time's beginning, but lost amid their play, are now found again. Heaven and earth are renewed and every vestige of decay removed from them. The freshest greenness, the richest harvests, the brightest sun come forth from that Ragnarock.

"Renewal's great day!  
Then springs shall no more  
With winters be changing;  
The days full of brightness  
To night never sinking."\*

Even the race of men are renewed. Yea, Valhalla is no more found. It is Gimle that now becomes the blessed, resounding and delightful abode, where reign eternal peace and unchanged day in the light and presence of the All-Father. But the eternal right-

\* Völus Spa. 52-59.—Tr.

eousness has not caused Hel or Helheim to disappear at the same time. The moral consciousness has only become purer. It is no longer those who die of old age or sickness who are the victims of pain in another world ; it is the wicked, the perjured, hired assassins and seducers, those who love sin and commit it, who there reap what they have sown, where all baseness and impurity are gathered together and no ray of light penetrates.

Thus do the religious conceptions come forth out of the Ragnarock purified and refined, as iron-ore out of the glowing furnace. The supposed strength has been broken, the imagined loftiness humbled. And over the cinders and ashes of its own thought, work, and actions, the anxious but hopeful heart sees a deliverance, which it also finds, but just in the burning world of the gods ; and as the Vala's, or prophet's eye is so sharp-sighted that it sees elevation in humiliation, and in the swelling waves discovers an anchor-ground for faith, so that the heart is not crushed, nor sinks into the abyss of despair,—should not we also there in the mythology of our forefathers be able to catch a glimpse of something higher, which reconciles us with its weak and unreasonable conclusions, at which our forefathers arrived in their effort to discover God's Kingdom by their own unaided reason, and to overcome evil by their own strength ? Yea, we can certainly see in our forefathers' heathenism the vain struggle for redemption, and that the Lord allowed them to go thus in their own ways, in order that the bold and self-confident might become weak and humble, and thus *prepared* to hear and receive the Gospel, which is preached to the poor, and which is a power of God whereby alone man can become strong to humble himself as a little child, believe and obey, and in that new mind enter into God's Kingdom, which belongs to the poor in spirit, that is, to those who have all their righteousness and strength in God alone.

## ART. V.—SUFFRAGANS.

THE Diocese of North Carolina has taken a very important step towards solving the problem of "Increased Episcopal Services" for those Dioceses which may not have an Assistant Bishop. After several efforts to make practicable arrangements for the election of an Assistant, which came to nought, because of the stricken state of the people, a committee was appointed upon "Increased Episcopal Services," in 1869, who reported in 1870, that "the delegates to the General Convention be requested to urge upon the Convention, the adoption of such legislation as will enable the Dioceses to elect Suffragan Bishops." At the same Convention the Bishop brought up the topic before that body in these words :

"There is a third method of providing increased Episcopal Service in the Diocese, which has been recently tried in England, and has much to recommend it. It is that of the appointment of one or more Suffragan Bishops. A Suffragan Bishop differs from an Assistant Bishop mainly in this,—that his jurisdiction is not co-extensive with the Diocese but is confined to a certain locality within it, and consequently he need not be separated from any office which he previously filled. A rector of a church can well be a Suffragan Bishop; and if there were one such in Asheville, one in Wilmington or Raleigh, as the case may be, or one in Newbern, Washington or Edenton, it is clear that a much more vigorous spiritual life would be imparted to the Church in this Diocese. At present, we have a canon forbidding the appointment of Suffragan Bishops, but for no sufficient reason apparently, and that Canon could be repealed at any session of the General Convention if desired."

With the implied promise herein made, as well as with the decided opinion also expressed before them, the Convention, postponing action till this past May, passed, in their recent session, the resolutions brought up again, with two additions, viz.: a committee of three to confer with experienced Canonists in framing a canon on the appointment of Suffragan Bishops; also, a resolution requesting the Bishop to correspond with his Brethren in office to secure their co-operation. Afterwards, a report from the original committee was published urging the suffraganate.

The Canon conflicting with the needs of the Church under her present condition is, Tit. I., Can. XIII. [§ V., when a Bishop]: "No person shall be elected or consecrated a Suffragan Bishop,



nor shall there be more than one Assistant Bishop in a Diocese at the same time."

This step of the North Carolina Convention, if it results in any action, is fraught with important consequences. It may be the first step in taking full possession of this land as the Catholic Church in the United States. It is full of minor results, in new combinations for effective work which it would introduce. That it is the true solution of the problem set before us we have no doubt. But we do not think the resolution is put in its simplest shape so as to elude some opposition it may receive. This opposition will be in connection with the popular use of the word "Suffragan," as distinguished from the office meant in the resolution and supposed to be intended in the prohibitory clause. For both these uses, which are, we hope, to show, really distinct, we have put a query to our heading. For we suspect from the history of the Canon XIII. that a suffraganate as in an Arch-province was really meant to be forbidden.

Let us sketch a sufficiently full outline of the Chorepiscopal office meant in the Resolutions, and also of the Suffraganate, both in its usual and unusual meaning. We only hope to contribute to a correct understanding of the difference of the two offices—not by any means do we hope to give anything like an exhaustive review.

The *Χορεπίσκοπος* rises rather suddenly into notice through the Canons at first. There may be a reference to him in Eusebius, Ec. Hist. B. VII. c. 30, but it would be a doubtful reference at best. But the Chorepiscopal office is the subject of several enactments, from the date of the Bishop of Cæsarea on for several hundred years, both in the East and the West. We can best trace in the Eastern Canons its eastern history. We will quote the Canons in full with Comments of the Canonists in the collection now in force in the East. The earliest is the 13th of Ancyra (in Galatia, A. D. 315).

"It is not lawful for Chorepiscopi to ordain Presbyters or Deacons, nor yet (to ordain) the Presbyters of the City Church, in another *Παροικία* without being empowered by letter from the Bishop."

*Comment:* "This Canon forbids, without the direct letter of the Ordinary, the Chorepiscopus to ordain in any other (beyond their own) jurisdiction, Presbyters or Deacons. For since according to the 10th of Antioch he may ordain Sub-deacons, Readers and Catechists in his own district how could he (ordain) in another? Nor may he ordain Presbyters in the City where the Bishop resides without written directions, that no doubt may follow."

At the very same date the Council of Neocæsarea (Cappadocia, A. D. 315) enacted (Can. 14) a restriction upon their Liturgic rights.

"The Chorepiscopi are a type of the Seventy, and as co-liturgists having care of the poor they are worthy to offer."

*Comment:* . . . "The Chorepiscopi are, according to this Canon, a type of the Seventy Apostles. So they like the Seventy may not give the grace of the HOLY GHOST by the ordination of Presbyters or Deacons, whom they cannot ordain. But they are not likewise hindered from the sacred offices, and deserve honor for the care they show in dividing the revenues of their Churches among the poor Brethren. . . ."

We will only remark that this comment contradicts the previous and all succeeding ones. We next come to the Nicene Council. Its 8th Canon recites the terms of reconciliation offered the Kathari, and is therefore accurate in arranging the corresponding Offices between the Catholic and Schismatic clergy.

"Concerning those formally calling themselves Kathari, but returning to the Catholic and Apostolic Church, it has pleased the Holy and Great Synod that with the laying on of hands they may remain among the clergy. But above all it is fit that they should, by writing, confess that they agree to and acknowledge the decrees of the Catholic and Apostolic Church—that is, to communicate those twice married and those lapsed in time of persecution, to whom a time has been set and opportunity afforded; so that in all decrees they may follow the Catholic and Apostolic Church. Therefore all, whether in villages or in cities, they alone who are already ordained being found among the clergy, shall remain in the same rank. But if any happen to be where there is a Bishop of the Catholic Church, it is evident that the Bishop of the Catholic Church should certainly have the dignity of the Episcopate; but he who is called Bishop by those called Kathari shall have the honor of a Presbyter; except it seem good to the Bishop to share with him the honor of the name. But if this be improper he shall assign him the rank of Chorepiscopus or of Presbyter, that by all means he may appear among the clergy. In order that there may not be two Bishops in one city."

The following Chorepiscopi signed the Acts and Canons of this Council:

Palladius, Chorepiscopus of Cœlosyria.

Seleucius, "

"

Eudæmon, "

Cilicia.

Gorgonius, "

Cappadocia.

Stephanus, "

"

Rhodon, "

"

Euphronius, "

"

} These two also at the  
} Council of Neocæsarea.

Theophanes, Chorepiscopus of Cappadocia.

Hesychius, " Isauria.

Theodore, " "

Anatolius, " "

Quintus, " "

Aquila, " "

Pheustemus, " Bithynia.

Eulalus, " "

In A. D. 341, sat the provincial Council of Antioch. Its VIIIth Canon enacted:

"The Presbyters may not give Canonical Letters or send letters (*dimissory*) to neighboring Bishops. But blameless Chorepiscopi may send letters of peace."

*Comment*: "This Canon forbids Presbyters, whenever found in the country or small towns, to give canonical or dimissory letters; but it does not restrain the Bishop or the *Protopapathes*, i. e. the Chorepiscopi, according to Balsamon; only these may send letters to neighboring, but not to distant Bishops. . . . But the Chorepiscopi, that they may be beyond blame and that their name may not be ill-reported, may give to those asking, letters of peace or dimissory letters."

#### Canon X.:

"It has seemed good to the Holy Synod to let the Chorepiscopi, whether in villages or in the country, and those having received Episcopal consecration, know their limits and the management of the Churches under them, and to be content with the care and solicitude of these: and to appoint Sub-deacons, Readers, and Catechists, and to be content with control over these; but not to dare to ordain Presbyters or Deacons without the Bishop of the City within the limits of whose jurisdiction they and their jurisdiction come. But if any one dares transgress these limits let him be deposed from his honors. A Chorepiscopus must be under the Bishop of the City in which (i. e., in whose municipal authority) he comes." At the General Council of Ephesus (341), signed Cæsarius, Chorepiscopus of Alkè.

We pass on to the Council of Laodicea (A. D. 360). Its LVII. Canon was thus:

"It is not fit to put Bishops in Villages and in the Country, but *Περιοικῶν*. But those (*Bishops*) already appointed may do nothing without the Bishop of the City. Likewise the Presbyters may do nothing without the knowledge of the Bishop."

*Comment*: "Not to lower the dignity of the Bishop this Canon directs that no Bishop should be in the country or in the villages, but only *Περιοικῶν* or Exarchs, i. e. Chorepiscopi. . . ."

*Foot-note to Comment*: "Zonaras and Balsamon say that the *Περιοικῶν*, comes from their going about to confirm the faithful, and being not confined

to one place. Chrysanthus of Jerusalem, in his Syntagma, derives the name from *Περιοδεύω*, to heal, or cure, for it has this sense. . . . Some think that *Περιοδεύται* are different from the Chorepiscopi. For Gennading (458 A. D., *Patriarch of Jerusalem*), in his encyclical writes distinguishing the *Περιοδεύτης* from the Chorepiscopos, '*All came to the same place—Bishop, Chorepiscopos, Περιοδεύτης, etc.*' And the Xth Act of the Council of Chalcedon records—a Presbyter claims he is a *Περιοδεύτης*. Several accused Ibas, in the same Council, of having ordained Valentinian, who was a presbyter, also a periodeutes. Others wish to so consider the Chorepiscopos so joined with the *Periodeutai* that some of them are Presbyters and others again of them have received Episcopal Consecration."

When St. Basil's See of Cæsarea was separated from Tyana (circ. 370), he retained fifty Chorepiscopi and at least four Suffragans. In his 181st letter he complains that his Chorepiscopi violated the Canons by ordaining (presbyters, etc.) without letters of authority from him.

Theodoret of Cyrus, the Historian, mentions two of his Chorepiscopi,—Hypatius, who managed his Diocese for him while he was at his literary work, and Abranius. Theodore, the Interpreter, has this intercessory petition in his (Nestorian) Liturgy:

"And for all our Fathers, Bishops, Chorepiscopi, Priests, and Deacons, that they may stand and minister before THEE purely, gloriously and holily," etc.

Socrates in the same century (440) speaks of the provision made for Bishops who had for sundry causes lost their Sees (*Ἐχαραζοντες επισκοποι*=Idle Bishops), by assigning them as Chorepiscopi. We have one more quotation to make, which will show how, at last, the Chorepiscopal Office became disregarded, and then we will pass on to the outline of the Office in its vicissitudes in the West.

The XIV. Canon of the II. Nicene (A. D. 787) closes thus: "Likewise according to the ancient use, let the Chorepiscopi, by the delegation of the Bishop, lay hands on the Readers."

The history of the Order in the West is still more meagre.\* The earliest mention usually referred to is the case of the Bishop of Smyrna, who by the Council of Riez (439) was reduced to the office of Chorepiscopos for having received consecration from two Bishops only. The Council defined the office of the Chorepisco-

\* We have been able to consult for this and the remainder of the article only Giesler, Guizot (Hist. of Civ. in Fr.), and Bryham, but we do not think any material omission is made.

pos as between the Episcopate and the Priesthood. The next notice we have obtained is in the reign of Charlemagne. Apparently he had found these country bishops quite unruly; for he set himself to depress and finally to suppress their office. Capitularies to this effect were even passed by him at Aix-la-Chapelle, 789, (capit. 9), at Frankfort 794 (capit. 20), and at Ratisbonne, 799. In the collection of these Capitularies, made some time after (circ. 870), by Benedictus Levita, we find: "It is not pleasing henceforth to ordain Chorepiscopi: for hitherto they were ordained by those who, ignorant of the decrees of the holy Fathers, specially of the Apostolics (*Popes*), clung to their own quiet and ease." The effort to depress the order was successfully pushed in the next reign (Louis le Debonnair, 815-837). In 823, in the Articles of Visitation, the Commissioners were to inquire of Bishops:

"Of what qualifications were the Assistants of their Ministry, *i. e.* Chorepiscopi, Arch-presbyters, Arch-deacons, Vice-domini, and Presbyters throughout their parishes; their zeal in doctrine and their reputation for truth among the people."

The famous Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, was a determined opponent. He complained (as in the East) that they assumed the care and revenues of the See, when vacated by the death of their Diocesan. He doubted their Episcopal rank. But in this he found an opponent in Raban Maurus. In 830 two Chorepiscopi sat in the Council of Lyons. But finally, in 849, at the Council of Paris (?) Andradus of Sens, and Parisius were summoned; and not only these but all Chorepiscopi throughout France were deposed. This was the last of the office in France. In England it appears never to have existed. But in Ireland it survived till 1216, when the Papal Legate suppressed it.

From the foregoing outline we gather that the Office of the Chorepiscopus was fully, in spiritual authority, Episcopal, but was Canonically restrained:

A. To confirm and to appoint Lay-readers and Catechists and the "Minor Orders in the limits assigned him in the jurisdiction of a Diocesan."

B. To ordain Priests and Deacons, if authorized by his Diocesan.

C. To sit in Councils at first in his own right; latterly as proxy.

Therefore he was a Bishop within an already constituted See, to perform all popular acts for his Ordinary, and to do such other administrative acts as the Ordinary should DIRECTLY empower him to do FOR THE TIME BEING. We find that the Office gradually fell into disfavor both East and West as the Church changed from an aggressive missionary to an organized national Church. We may conclude that it was intended to accomplish the identical work that is needed now in these United States. We will hint at a few of the difficulties in the way of its introduction shortly, but we would fully describe the Office intended by the Resolutions.

But as the title Suffragan (not Chorepiscopus) appears in these Resolutions and in the prohibitory section of the Canon, let us trace the history of this term also. We need quote without regard to the context, merely such passages as show that "Diocesan" and "Suffragan" were identical in general usage. Their earliest name when in Council was provincial; "Episcopi in nostra provincia," says St. Cyprian (Ep. ad Anton). Then "Episcopi Provinciales." Leo I. (Ep. 92). Then "Provincials" alone, as in later Councils. But the division into provinces was common, too, to the Monastic Orders, and "*Provincial*" became too general a term. So we find the title "Suffragan" coming into favor, and then it was the most usual title for Diocesans in Council with their Metropolitan.

We will give proof of its use for each century from its first introduction down to the Reformation.

Capitulary of Frankfort, 794. "Si non obediet aliqua persona, Episcopo suo, Abbatibus, Presbyteris, Deaconibus, etc., veniat ad Metropolitanum suum, et ille dijudicet causam cum *Suffraganeis* suis."

Suffragans sat with their Archbishops in Provincial Councils; At Noyon 814; Mayence 847; Tours 912.

In A.D. 900 there is a letter addressed, Hattonis Archiepiscopi Moguntini Ejusque *Suffragancorum* ad Johannem. Papam.

In 1075 Epistola Siegfriedi Archiepiscopi Mogunt. ad *Suffraganeos*. In 1165 Henricus dictus Remensis Archiepiscopus, venerabilibus fratribus et co-episcopis *Suffraganeis* suis, salutem et Apostolicum benedictionem. In 1215, Conc. Lateran IV. Sicut olim a sanetis patribus, noscitur institutum, Metropolitanis singulis annis, cum suis *suffraganeis* provincialia non omittant celebrare.



In the Oath of Edmund of Canterbury to the Pope (1233). *Cum quem libet de meis Suffraganeis consecraverō faciam illi jurare ut Romano Pontifico et Romanæ Ecclesiæ perpetuam obedientiam et debitam honorem impendat.* In 1353. Pedro the Cruel was divorced from Maria de Padilla by two Suffragans. In 1366, the Archbishop of Gnesen, with his Suffragans, protested against a tithe for three years exacted by Urban Vth. In 1409 Alexander Vth issued an order in which occurs,

"*Dominus Noster, eodem concilio (Pisa) approbante, ordinat et mandat celebrari concilia provincialia per Metropolitanos et Synodos per eorum suffraganeos secundum formam juris et concilii generalia.*"

In a patent granted to the Bohemians by the Emperor Sigismund, 1436, occurs :

"*Pragam et civitates alias una cum Clero, Archiepiscopus Pragensis una cum aliis Episcopis titularibus eliguntur, qui alias dicuntur Suffraganei. Qui quidem electi per nostram dispositionem debitam—confirmabuntur et in Episcopos consecrabuntur absque quavis, pro confirmatione, Pallii exhibitione, aut etiam Notariis per solutione.*"

From this we gather that Suffragans were always diocesans, as the title *usually* means now also. But there are two exceptions to this rule, which probably led to the use of the title for the purposes described in the Act 26 Henry VIII., c. 14, from which Act it is probable that the framers of the Canon took their use of the term. The first exception was the case of the fugitive Spanish and Oriental Bishops in the Saracenic wars, during the XIIIth century. They found employment with their more fortunate brethren. They were called *Vicarii in Pontificalibus aut Suffraganei*. The second is of the same century. (Hist. Ecc. Rec., p. 104).

A. D., 1281. "Agreement between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Dean and Chapter of Sarum respecting the appointment of a Suffragan bishop to discharge the duties of the Diocese during the insanity or the superannuation of any Bishop of Sarum. The Dean and Chapter were to elect two or three proper persons from their own body, and the Primate was to appoint one of them to act as coadjutor bishop. And if they should neglect to do so within two months, the Primate might appoint any member of the Cathedral of Sarum to act as coadjutor."

But though these cases show the use, they also show the intended meaning of such use of the title as assistant or coadjutor. Still it paved the way for this use in the Act of 1534, which we will now give in its material parts.

The preamble sets forth that no provision has been made for "Suffragans  
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which have been accustomed to be had within this realm, for the more speedy administration of the Sacraments, and other good, wholesome, and devout things, and laudable ceremonies to the increase of God's honor, and for the commodity of good and devout people, and therefore the Act erects twenty-six towns and places into suffraganates."

The nomination to these Sees was in the Archbishop or Bishop of each See, "every one of whom might nominate for his peculiar diocese two good and discreet spiritual persons, being learned, and of good conversation." And the King, upon such due nomination should give to the one of the two he should choose, the style, title, and name of Bishop, and should direct Letters Patent to the Archbishop of the Province in which the See is,

"To consecrate said person so nominated and presented, to the same name, title, style, and dignity of Bishop, that he shall be nominated and presented unto, and to give him all such consecrations, benedictions, and ceremonies, as to the degree and office of a Bishop Suffragan shall be requisite."

The next clause directs that such only consecrated persons shall have everywhere their proper style, name, and dignity,

"And have such capacity, power, authority, honor, pre-eminence and reputation in as large and ample manner in, and concerning the execution of such commission, as by any of the said Archbishops or Bishops within this Diocese, shall be given to the said Suffragans as to Suffragans of this realm heretofore hath been used and accustomed."

The next clause directs the consecration to be within three months after the Archbishop has received the Letters Patent. Then the Act limits the jurisdiction of the suffragan thus.

"No such suffragans—shall take or receive any manner of profits of the places and sees whereof they shall be named, nor use, have, or execute any jurisdiction or Episcopal power or authority within their said Sees, nor within any Diocese or place of this Realm, or elsewhere within the King's dominions, but only such projects, jurisdiction, power, and authority as shall be licensed and limited to them to take, do, and execute by any Archbishop or Bishop of this Realm, within their Diocese, to whom they shall be suffragans, by their commission under their seals. And that every Archbishop and Bishop of this Realm for their own peculiar Diocese may and shall give such commission or commissions to every such Bishop suffragan, as shall be so consecrated by authority of this act, as hath been accustomed for suffragans heretofore to have, or else such commission as by them shall be thought requisite reasonable and convenient. And that no such suffragan shall use any jurisdiction ordinary or Episcopal power, otherwise, nor longer time than shall be limited by such commission, &c.," upon penalties recited in the statute of provisors.

The act closes by putting the costs of consecration on the suf-

fragan elect, by declaring any accustomed residence in his See sufficient, and by allowing him to hold two benefices with care for the better maintenance of his dignity.

The act states the office was an accustomed one. We have not been able to find any traces of it as a distinct order in any of the accessible histories of the English Church. Burnet has preserved the Mandate for the Consecration of Thomas Manning Abbot, of St. Mary's, Buttley, to the Suffraganate of Ipswich. The act was repealed under Mary and Philip, and restored by Elizabeth. Two Suffragans under Henry's Act—Hodgskin of Bedford and John of Thetford—were summoned to assist in Parker's consecration. In 1641 Archbishop Usher proposed a revival of this office, or rather the chorepiscopal office, which was made the subject of some negotiations in the succeeding reign, but apparently without results.\* It has been revived in, we believe, three of the English Sees.

Our conclusions may be thus summed up. The proper meaning of Suffragan was, and is a Diocesan Bishop in Provincial council with his Metropolitan. Next, both on the continent and in England, it was used to mean a coadjutor, and was sometimes replaced by the title *Vicarius in Pontificalibus*. Then, lastly, it meant a titular Bishop, as a sort of sub-suffragan to his Diocesan, acting under Commission from his Bishop; but as Bishop Gibson says (quoted by Dr. Hawks),

"Their office, usually, was to confirm, ordain, dedicate churches and the like; that is, to execute those things which pertain to the Episcopal office."

As to the general *jurisdiction* and *temporalities* of the See, they belonged of course to the Bishop, not to the Suffragan, and when the Bishop became infirm, these were committed to a *Coadjutor* or *Assistant*, so that, says Gibson,

"The two ends of *orders* and of *jurisdiction* in case of the inability of a bishop were answered by two several persons; the first under the name of 'suffragan,' the second under the name of 'coadjutor.'" Hawks' Contrib., etc., p. 120.

The Suffragan, then, under Commission, could do *all* the ordinary could do, except enjoy the temporalities and jurisdiction of the See. The Coadjutor discharged the three functions of *Orders*, *Temporalities*, and *Jurisdiction*. Then the functions of the Suffragans were: All rights of *orders*. The functions of the Chorepisc-

\* Short's Hist. of the Church of England, §§ 585, 662, 664.

copi were: A. Only to Appoint and to Confirm. B. Give letters of Peace, but not to transfer clergy out of the jurisdiction of the ordinary.

Did space permit we would like to state succinctly now the history of the Canon of 1829 and 1832, which is *very* nearly our present Canon. But it is sufficiently accessible in Bishop White's memoirs.

If it was the intention of the North Carolina Convention to revive the Chorepiscopal office, we think it was an oversight not to ask for it in its proper name. For, though Dr. Hawks asserts that the Cannon XIII. § V., which was the old Canon VI. of 1832, marks out the course of the Assistant, partly from rules for the ancient chorepiscopos, partly from those which relate to the Suffragans, and partly from what belonged to coadjutors; a comparison of the terms of the Act as given above, with the Canon, will show that the Chorepiscopos was not thought of, and that the Assistant is—so long as the Bishop is able to act at all—a Suffragan, and when the Bishop is disabled, he is then constituted a *coadjutor*. Only the Canon makes the Assistant possible on condition of the Bishop's being infirm.

*"The Assistant Bishop shall perform such Episcopal duties, and exercise such Episcopal authority in the Diocese as the Bishop shall assign him."*

This is surely equivalent to orders in a Suffragan who

*"Shall have such capacity, power, authority, honor, préminence, and reputation, in as large and ample manner in and concerning the execution of said commission, as by any of the said Archbishops or Bishops within their Dioceses shall be given to the said Suffragans."*—Again: *"But only such profits, jurisdiction, power and authority, as shall be licensed and limited to them to do and execute by any Archbishop or Bishop of this Realm within their Diocese, to whom they shall be Suffragans by their Commission under their seals."*

The Assistant of the Canon is, to all intents, the Suffragan of Henry the Eighth's Act. But the Canon goes on to describe the conditions under which he becomes a coadjutor, viz.:

*"And in case of the Bishop's inability to assign such duties, declared by the Convention of the Diocese, the Assistant Bishop shall, during such inability, perform all the duties and exercise all the authorities which appertain to the office of a Bishop."*

It is clear to us that the terms of either law are equivalent to the other; the Act and the Canon are parallel, before the final inability of the Bishop; and as the Act allowed only one Suffra-

gan to each Diocese, so too the Canon creates under another name this very office. Then it forbids its real title to the office; for it calls it "*Assistant*," and as the term "*Suffragan*" is not equivalent to "*Chorepiscopus*," for this office is still more restrained, and therefore not coincident, it could not be that this latter was not intended for the other. And we think that its history would show that it refers to the more usual meaning of "*Suffragan*" as a Bishop in an Arch-Diocese, prohibiting *that* office; for that form of Church organization is not recognized in the Church in these United States. In putting their exceptions to the meaning of the prohibitory clause, we do not mean to suggest any unworthy evasion or special pleading. But we would show that that clause does not really cover the office sought to be revived, and think that the Resolutions and instructions to their Delegates would have better answered their real intent had they been so worded as to ask for the CHOREPISCOPAL OFFICE.

It now falls to us to say a few words upon the other part of the discussion which the resolution will provoke. We mean the objections that will be undoubtedly made. If we could not exhaust the discussion of its history, we certainly could not anticipate *all* objections to it. But they will be principally these: First, The danger of foisting an untried office upon the Church. Secondly, The difficulties of its practical working. Thirdly, The complicated changes that must be made in the Canons. We will take up the third objection at once, for it contains much of the force of the other two. Indeed we believe that a good working Canon, if such a thing can be framed, will obviate fully half the difficulties anticipated in any objections that may be made. *Any* change in organization, though slight, must involve canonical changes. The point is, will the change be worth the trouble involved? We take for granted that no one doubts for an instant the need of just those increased Episcopal services that the Chorepiscopus (we don't like the name, and will use Rural Bishop for it by the reader's leave) the Rural Bishop, then, will supply, and consequently that no one doubts the usefulness of the office if it does not work badly, and can be properly canonically restricted, and interwoven with our present system. It will involve one main alteration, and the creation of a new set of relative rights. The relation of the Rural Bishop to his Diocesan will have to be described and limited;

and the alteration will be in the relation of the Parish of the Rural Bishop to the Diocese. We do not see that any other changes are involved, though future discussion may discover others. In regard to his relation to the Ordinary of the Diocese the regulations of the ancient Canons given above, so far as they are applicable to the present day, would furnish the outline of that part of the Canon-law of the Church, and we do not perceive that it would alter any rights existing at present. The changes would be still greater in the Diocesan legislation. For the Parish chosen as the seat of the Rural Bishops would have to surrender its right to elect its own Rector. For several awkward inconveniences would be sure to arise if the relationship between the Parish and the Bishop were not taken out of the control of both, and regulated by the Diocese—inconveniences that would perhaps amount to positive hindrances to his doing his work effectively, and probably would destroy his influence in his Parish also. Enactment might be needed too to prevent Rural Bishops from being translated into Diocesans. Some restrictions would be required to check the multiplication of such Rural Bishoprics. But while the changes both in the General and Diocesan Canons would be important they would not involve so very many alterations in the existing Canons, nor would these new Canons necessarily be themselves complicated, or complicate existing legislation. For a Canon defining the relation (*a*) between the Diocesan and his Rural Bishops; (*b*) regulating the number in proportion to some standard of supposed necessity in each Diocese: (*c*) preventing or regulating the translation of such Rural Bishops to other Dioceses: (*d*) defining the conditions on which a Rural Bishopric may, through the Convention of the Diocese, upon proper growth be erected into an independent See: (*e*) providing for the *abolition* of the Office if found impracticable, need not be long or so filled with provisos and exceptions as to be difficult to carry out. If a General Canon can be put forth in a working condition, half the objections to Rural Bishoprics would vanish. For each Diocese can surely decide if it wants them at all; and none would be *compelled* to have them *nolens volens*. If they do need and want them they can then provide for them and arrange their own internal relations as seems to them best.

What we have briefly indicated above will partly answer the other classes of objections.



The chief of these is, we think, much more popular than sound. It is alleged very often that the multiplication of small Dioceses will result in lowering the dignity of the Episcopal Office. And with tenfold force will this be asserted when the Chorepiscopal Office will be discussed. But we do not think that it will bear examination, for it rests upon a confusion made of the dignity pertaining to the Office with the different characteristics of each man in the office. There are two ways of using this term "dignity." There is the dignity of the office in itself. "I magnify mine office," saith St. Paul. There is also the dignity of character in the person holding the office. The objection holds a hazy, undefined place between these two forms, and uses either with a happy indifference. If the objection means the Dignity of the Office is lowered, then let us have fewer Bishops. Its dignity must surely be far more important than the Work our LORD set before it to do for men! Confirmations, Visitations, Episcopal Supervisions, presence at Convocation and Missionary meetings of less importance than the Dignity of an office which makes those who hold it the servants of Servants! Dignity is to be of more use to a Bishop than counselling and cheering with his presence and sympathy the toiling, hard-pressed, often despondent Priest; than training and disciplining the young, enthusiastic Deacons! If the Church had not had as many Bishops as she once possessed, the Diaconate would in early days have become what it is practically now, the mere stepping-stone to the "good degree." Of all things to restore a practical Diaconate, a numerous Episcopate, Suffragan or Chorepiscopal, will be seen to succeed best. It is absurd to argue, that the Dignity of such an office can be lowered by thus increasing the number of those holding it to the *limit of the demands for its services and the work it alone can supply*. Or is it a fear that undignified men will crowd its ranks? Dioceses will make mistakes doubtless sometimes, though we have yet to hear of them. Men they are, and Priests or Bishops will wear the guise of men, and perhaps make many blunders. Men of due weight when tested as faithful Parish Priests may not be equal to the duties of an arduous Episcopate. Secular life gives many examples. A good Colonel has often been spoiled by being made a Division, or Corps-Commander. But there is always a fair amount of assurance that men faithful in one position will

faithfully if not always completely use the grace in the higher station. Or must there be at least a certain carriage or mannerism belonging to the office? Shall we lay down, that every one who has not the stateliness of a De Lancey, or the administrative ability of a Hobart, or the suave eloquence of the elder Doane, or the powerful presence of a Ravenscroft, or the grace of an Elliot, cannot be fit for that office? If so the wonder is that we have dared to have even fifty Bishops. We know that the six hundred Bishops under the Primacy of Carthage, then gathered from Africa Proconsularis and the two Mauritanias, was a goodly and a dignified sight, albeit that few of them could boast the weight and dignity of their great peer, the Bishop of the little Hippo Regia, St. AUGUSTINE. Some of the mightiest of the Church's doctors were Bishops of Dioceses not the size of a single County in North Carolina. The diocese of Cæsarea, or Cappadocia Prima was not the size of Delaware, but St. Basil ruled in it four Suffragans and fifty Chorepiscopi, and his neighbor, torn from his authority at Tyana, had four subject-sees, doubtless, with many Chorepiscopi, in an area even less. Gregory of Nazianzen is well known; the town Nazianzen cannot now be found. Sasima, his first see was only a post-village for relays of horses for travellers. His compeer of Nyssa, St. Basil's brother, held as small a see. We have spoken of St. Augustine. There is Titus, of Bostra, Eusebius Vercellensis, Gaudencius of Brescia, and others who either lived always in a small see, or there gained their fame, and were afterwards transferred, as St. Gregory Nazianzen was, to some broader field. Did these lower the dignity of the office? Doubtless, not all were Gregories, Augustines, or Tituses, but with all their mediocrity their number was the last charge that would be dreamt of being preferred against them. The tendency was to multiply sees too much, not to curtail the number; and that it would lower the Episcopal Dignity was an idea that could not have entered into their thoughts. The fact is that over the breadth of this American Continent, we need tenfold *more* Episcopal supervision, than we yet have had, or are, at the present rate, likely to get. We need men to do the work that is set us to do, and the Church *must* and *will* have them, for she cannot shrink from her charge. The ranks of the clergy cannot be filled up, nor their work be done effectively without more Episcopal supervision and sympathy. If

Rural Bishoprics will effect this without disturbing the present order of things, and if they are not incompatible with the peculiar genius of the Church here and now under the conditions of American growth and civilization, they become a necessity which it would be criminal in the Executive and Legislative Bodies we have constituted, not to grant us. We do not positively assert that Rural Bishoprics will be a panacea for all our ills, and satisfy every want. We believe that a more truly Catholic re-arrangement of our present division of labor will have to be made before many years. But to wait for the division of this country into Provinces would be to waste precious time and opportunity. It might be objected that to multiply Bishoprics in this way would precipitate the "Provincial System." It could not render it more urgent than it is now. And we believe that the lapse of time, even now, is only needed to complete it. We do not think that if there were two hundred Chorepiscopi now in these United States that the "Provincial System" would be hastened by three years' space.

But it may yet be farther objected, that grant all and more than all that has been said in defence of the Order, and admit that it will work well now, is there not a grave fear that the Order of Chorepiscopi, Rural Bishops or Suffragans, may be fastened upon the Church and become a burden and not a help, in fact a weight we cannot rid ourselves of? It is the best founded of the objections we have anticipated, but it is answered by the history of the Order. The Church called it forth to meet certain needs, and then when these passed away, she recalled it. Perhaps this was done in the West arbitrarily. In the East it died a natural death. It would not take very much consideration of the facts we have adduced to convince one that the Order survived the causes which demanded its existence, and consequently was, when it became (because useless) disorderly, suppressed. Do not let us misconceive the object and limits of the revival of the Office. It is merely a temporary delegation of Episcopal authority for certain Episcopal duties, to a man Episcopally consecrated in order to meet those spiritual needs which the already overtaxed Bishop of an extensive Diocese may be unable to supply for parts of his jurisdiction. The office is for the time and necessity, and will in the majority of cases grow, as did the old Rural Bishoprics, finally into goodly Sees. Its suppression can be provided for. It can

be distinctly limited. It can be put under due canonical restraints. If it was to be a *permanent* Order always to exist in the American Church, and be compulsively received by all dioceses, we should well shrink from advocating any such relief. But we insist that the Office is really to meet necessities which, when satisfied, will also take with them the Chorepiscopal Office. It is a step fraught with so many consequences that it needs much and earnest deliberation, by our most learned, and wise, and godly men. We do not pretend that we have collected *all* that history has recorded of the Chorepiscopal Office, or have anticipated all objections to it, but if we have contributed at all any material towards an intelligent discussion of it, we feel that we shall have fully accomplished our purpose.

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#### ART. VI.—CHINESE LITERATURE.

"Books rule the world," says Voltaire. This is true so far, at least, as it relates to China. The Chinese outnumber their foreign rulers as a hundred to one. For three centuries they have been subject to the Manchu Tartars, a people whose ancestral possessions lie north-west of the great wall. At first one is perplexed to know how he shall account for such an anomaly as this;—four hundred millions submit patiently under a yoke imposed by four millions. What is the secret of this strange condition of affairs? It is to be sought, possibly, in the system of competitive examinations, instituted by the Imperial Government, by which learning and intelligence are made the tests for holding office. These examinations are open to all. What difference does it make to the native agriculturist in the province of Kwangtung, who reigns at Peking, two thousand miles away, so long as the honors and emoluments of his village are open only to the scholarly, and may be competed for by his own son? If we mistake not, then, the passive submission of the Chinese to the handful of Tartars who rule them, may be found in the great respect which is everywhere paid to education by the government, and to the fact that an acquaintance with the writings of Chinese authors is made the condition

on which public patronage is bestowed. Of course, under such circumstances the character of a country's literature becomes of great importance; influencing as it does the government, morals, and institutions of the people, as well as their modes of thought. As the Chinese language is unique, a thing by itself, so the literature of China is perhaps the most independent and peculiar in the world. A great many books are published, it is true, but very little originality is manifested in the selection of subjects or in their treatment. Style is of more importance than thought, and the Classics serve as models which are rigidly adhered to. From these the themes are selected at the public examinations, and the candidate reproduces, as nearly as possible, what he may have read with reference to his topic, all originality of thought or expression being positively disapproved of by the examiners. This spirit of conservatism has thrown a large part of the works in the language into the form of commentaries on the ancient writings, which are the "Scriptures" of the Chinese. As at one time in Europe literature was almost the sole charge of the clergy and a great majority of all the books written were expositions of the Bible.

It is the purpose of this Article to give a brief account of the principal departments of Chinese literature, and enumerate a few of the most celebrated authors under each head. Without attempting to cover the whole ground, by any means, we shall divide what we have to say concerning the literature of this language as follows: I. Religious Works; II. Philosophical Works; III. Histories; IV. Novels; V. Poetry. In addition to such books as would fall under these heads, others have been written upon Law, Medicine, Political Economy, Physics, Agriculture, Education, etc.

I. RELIGIOUS WORKS. Religious Works may be subdivided into,

1. Those of the Confucian or State Religion.
2. Those of the Tauists, or Rationalists.
3. Those of the Buddhists. These are the three principal religions in China.

We will consider the above subdivisions in their order.

1. *Works treating of the Confucian or State Religion.* There are ten canonical works which fall under this head, viz.: "The

Five Classics," (*Wu King*); "The Four Books," (*Sz Shu*), and "The Memoir on Filial Duty," (*Hiau King*).

"Five Classics" are called, respectively, "The Book of Changes," (*Yih King*); "The Book of Records," (*Shu King*); "The Book of Odes," (*Shi King*); "The Book of Rites," (*Li Ki*); "The Spring and Autumn Annals," (*Chun Tsiu*).

"The Book of Changes" is a complex puzzle; utterly enigmatical; a sort of a Book of Revelation; an inexplicable work which every one tries to explain. The Chinese depend for their understanding of it, almost entirely upon a commentary written by Confucius. It is said to treat of philosophy and the first cause, and is certainly one of the oldest books in existence, having been written by "The Literary Prince (*Wang wang*)" about 1150 B. C. Diagrams are employed to elucidate the subject under treatment, but any Chinese scholar who should find out what these diagrams mean would think himself as fortunate as though he were to discover the philosopher's stone itself. Numberless straight lines are combined in a great variety of ways in order to express ideas. This work is the text-book of all Chinese astrologers and necromancers. About 1450 treatises have been written in explanation of it.

"The Book of Records" is a history of China from about 2350 B. C., down to 722 B. C. including essays on the science of government, etc. It bears internal evidence of having been revised and condensed by Confucius (born 550 B. C.) The morality of this work is unexceptionable; and, in fact, it may be observed that the standard literature of China is free from the sensuality which characterizes some of the Greek and Roman classics. The Book of Records is held in very high repute. It is the foundation of Chinese history, politics, religious rites, tactics, and astronomy. The doctrine of one Supreme God is foreshadowed in its pages under the name of Shangti.

"The Book of Odes" is a collection of 311 songs, hymns, and odes, selected by Confucius from a much larger number existing in his day, and as being alone worthy of preservation. His wish in this respect was accomplished, for besides the Book of Odes, absolutely nothing is left of the poetry of China prior to the time of Confucius. The most ancient of these odes were written 1100 B. C. The most recent do not date further back than about



650 B. C. They are subdivided into National Airs, Greater Eulogies, Lesser Eulogies, and Songs of Praise. The last mentioned were used at the imperial sacrifices.

"The Book of Rites," the largest of "The Five Classics," exerts a great influence upon the manners, customs, and social life of the Chinese. It is said to have been mainly written by Chou Kung. The work is not as might be inferred from the title, a manual for the altar; it treats of social amenities; prescribes the duty of children to their parents; and lays down rules for sitting, standing, walking, weeping, eating, talking, etc. It assigns to woman a subordinate place, and the reverence paid this book is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of every effort made towards the amelioration of her lot. The teachings of the work are noble, in the main, and it has had great influence in moulding the character of the Chinese.

"The Spring and Autumn Annals," so-called because "their commendations are life-giving like spring, and their censures life-withering like autumn," is the last of the Five Classics. It is a historical work compiled by Confucius from the records of his native State, Lu. The purpose of the author was to complete "The Book of Records," the second of The Five Classics, which brings the history of China down to 722 B. C. The work covers a period of 242 years, closing two years before the death of Confucius in 479 B. C. It gives an account of the thirty-six eclipses of the Sun, the earliest in 720 B. C., which, in almost every particular, have since been verified.

"The Four Books," are held in almost as great repute among the Chinese as "The Five Classics." Although written by different authors, three of them at least, may be said to contain the teachings of Confucius as reproduced by his disciples. They were written in the century following the death of the great sage, and are called "The Great Learning," (*Ta Hioh*); "The True Medium," (*Chung Yung*); "The Analects," (*Lun Yu*), and, finally The Writings of Mencius.

"The Great Learning" is a short treatise of about 2000 words. The topics treated in this work are, "the improvement of one-self;" "the regulation of a family;" "the government of a State;" and "the rule of an empire." The mutual dependence of these four subjects is set forth in a circle peculiarly Chinese.

"The ancients, who wished to restore to reason its due lustre throughout the empire, first regulated the province which they governed; desirous of governing well their own kingdoms, they previously established order and virtue in their own houses; for the sake of establishing domestic order, they began with self-renovation; to renovate their own minds, they first gave a right direction to their affections; wishing to direct their passions aright, they previously corrected their ideas and desires; and to rectify these, they enlarged their knowledge to the utmost. Now this enlargement of knowledge consists in a most thorough and minute acquaintance with the nature of things around us. A thorough acquaintance with the nature of things rendering knowledge deep and consummate; from thence proceed just ideas and desires; erroneous ideas once corrected, the affections of the soul move in the right direction; the passions thus rectified, the mind naturally obeys reason, and the empire of reason restored in the soul, domestic order follows, of course; from thence flows order throughout the whole province; and one province rightly governed may serve as a model for the whole empire."

"The True Medium" is, perhaps, the most elaborate of "The Four Books." It was written by a grandson of Confucius for the purpose of explaining the nature of human virtue, which is illustrated in the person of an ideal, "Superior Man," who preserves a golden mean in everything. This truly virtuous man never goes to extremes but always acts in accordance with the advice of Hesiod.

"Let every action prove a mean confess'd,  
A moderation is in all the best."

This doctrine, without doubt, was aimed at the Rationalists, who are ascetics and practice the laceration of the body. Chinese moralists divide men into three classes as follows: "Men of the highest order, as sages, worthies, philanthropists, and heroes, are good without instruction; men of the middling class are so after instruction, such as husbandmen, physicians, astrologers, soldiers, etc.; whilst those of the lowest are bad in spite of instruction, as play-actors, pettifoggers, slaves, swindlers, etc." This reminds one of what Aristotle says on the same subject. Men are good, he remarks, in three ways or for three reasons. Some are good by nature; some are good from their education, from the force of example and habit; some are good because of the influence exerted over them by means of their intellectual conceptions. "The True Medium" lays down as cardinal virtues, uprightness, harmony, benevolence, and sincerity. "One Sincere wish," it is said, "would move heaven and earth."

"The Analects" are a collection of the colloquial sayings of Confucius as recorded by his disciples. It is a sort of a "Boswell's Life of Johnson." Among the most remarkable passages are the following :

"What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

"Some one said, 'What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?' The Master said, 'With what then, will you recompense kindness?'"

"Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."

"Grieve not that men know you not, but be grieved that you are ignorant of men."

"When I first began with men, I heard words and gave credit for conduct; now I hear words, and observe conduct."

"I have found no man who esteems virtue, as men esteem pleasure."

"Sin in a virtuous man is like an eclipse of the sun and moon, all men gaze at it, and it passes away; the virtuous man mends; the world stands in admiration when he falls."

It is from this work that most of the themes are selected at the competitive examinations.

The last of "The Four Books" contains the writings of Mencius, a disciple of Confucius, and bears his name, just as the works of the first of English dramatists are designated simply by the author's name,—*"Shakspeare."* Mencius was born 400 B. C. The Chinese call him Mang-futsy, the latter syllable being an honorary title, meaning *rabbi*, *teacher*, or *sage*. This name as well as that of Kong-futsy (Confucius) was Latinized by the early Jesuit missionaries. Mencius was, in some respects, the superior of Confucius, and may safely be regarded as one of the greatest men of the Orient. His mother is always held up as the model for all virtuous parents. She was alive to the importance of keeping her son surrounded by good influences, and, finding that he was in the habit of visiting a butcher near by, where he went to see the animals slaughtered, she feared lest the sight might render him callous to suffering, and therefore, removed to a house which was situated near a cemetery. But little Mang soon came to watch the funeral processions with indifference, oftentimes with glee, and frequently amused himself in imitating the grief of the mourners and playing leap-frog over the tomb-stones. So Changshi, his mother, moved again, and this time to a house in the neighborhood

of a school where he was surrounded by good influences, and soon became interested in his books. The Chinese have a proverb, which alludes to this incident, as illustrative of the importance of choosing good associates. They say "Formerly the mother of Mencius chose out a neighbor." The writings of Mencius are satirical, and abound with irony and ridicule aimed at vice and oppression everywhere. He always alludes to the people as the source of power. The doctrine of the divine right of kings found little favor at his hands. "When the prince is guilty of errors," he says, "the minister should reprove him; if, after doing so again, and again, he does not listen, he ought to dethrone him and put another in his place." Mencius, as well as nearly all Chinese writers, maintains the original and pristine purity of human nature. A philosopher by the name of Kaou, once held a controversy with him upon this subject. The former taught the *indifference* of human nature to good or evil, and illustrated it as follows:

"Man's nature is like water whirling around in a corner. Open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Man's nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as water is indifferent to east and west." To this Mencius replied, "Water will indeed, flow indifferently to the east or west, but will it flow indifferently up or down? The tendency of man's nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. There are none but have this tendency to good, just as all water flows downward. Now by striking water and causing it to leap up, you can make it go over your forehead, and by damming and leading it, you may force it up a hill; but are such movements according to the nature of water? It is the force applied which causes them. When men are made to do what is not good, their nature is dealt with in this way." Again he says, "If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers. \* \* \* Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge are not infused into us from without. We are certainly furnished with them."

A hundred years after Mencius we read of a sage by the name *Sün King*, who boldly maintained that man's nature was radically bad, and his virtue a mere show. This philosopher came very near laying down the doctrine of "original sin."

The character of Mencius was at the farthest remove from that servility and baseness which we are wont to ascribe to the Chinese. He says:

"I love life and I love justice; but if I cannot preserve both, I would give up life, and hold fast justice. Although I love life, there is that which

I love more than life; although I hate death, there is that which I hate more than death."

The last of the "ten canonical works," "The Memoir on Filial Duty," (Hian King), is a collection of the sayings of Confucius concerning the relation of children to their parents. The book is divided into eighteen chapters. According to Confucius, and all the writers of his school, filial duty is the first of virtues. We are told that there are three thousand crimes, and disobedience to parents stands at the head of the list. The influence of this work on the Chinese mind has been immense. Its teachings are popularized and embodied in short stories which set forth the danger of disobedience, and the reward which is sure to follow the opposite virtue. The following are samples of this kind of literature, selected from a well-known collection made for the young:

"In the Chou dynasty there flourished the venerable Lai, who was very obedient and reverential towards his parents, manifesting his dutifulness by exerting himself to provide them with every delicacy. Although upwards of seventy years of age, he declared that he was not yet old; and usually dressed himself in party-colored embroidered garments, and like a child would playfully stand by the side of his parents. He would also take up buckets of water, and try to carry them into the house; but feigning to slip, would fall to the ground, wailing and crying like a child; and all these things he did to divert his parents."

"During the Han dynasty lived Ting Lan, whose parents both died when he was young, before he could obey and support them; and he reflected that for all the trouble and anxiety he had caused them, no recompense had yet been given. He then carved wooden images of his parents, and served them as if they had been alive. For a long time his wife would not reverence them; but one day, taking a bodkin, she in derision pricked at their fingers. Blood immediately flowed from the wound; and seeing Ting coming, the images wept. He examined into the circumstances and forthwith divorced his wife."

"In the days of the Han dynasty lived Koh Ku, who was very poor. He had one child three years old; and such was his poverty that his mother usually divided her portion of food with this little one. Koh says to his wife 'We are so poor that our mother cannot be supported, for the child divides with her the portion of food that belongs to her. Why not bury this child? Another child may be born to us, but a mother once gone will never return.' His wife did not venture to object to the proposal; and Koh immediately dug a hole of about three cubits deep, when suddenly he lighted upon a pot of gold, and on the metal read the following inscription: 'Heaven bestows this treasure upon Koh Ku, the dutiful son; the magistrate may not seize it, nor shall the neighbors take it from him.'"

The last narrative calls to mind the Bible-story about Abraham and Isaac.

In closing this brief description of the ten canonical works of the State religion of China, perhaps it would be well to add a short account of the great sage to whom the Chinese are indebted for them. Confucius was born in the little State of Lu, province of Shantung, north-eastern China, 549 or 550 B. C. (In the former year Cyrus ascended the throne of Persia. Buddha was still alive. Pythagoras was in his prime, and the children of Israel were at Babylon in captivity). At the age of thirty he set himself up as a public teacher. His fame increased rapidly, disciples flocked to him, and he was frequently invited by some monarch to come and share the government of his province with him. But the morality of the sage was so rigid, and he spoke so fearlessly against abuses in high places that his influence at court was usually of short duration, and sometimes he fled for his life. He declared that he resembled a dog driven from his home.

"I have the fidelity of that animal," he said, "and I am treated like it. But what matters the ingratitude of men? They cannot hinder me from doing all the good that has been appointed me. If my precepts are disregarded I have the consolation of knowing in my breast that I have faithfully performed my duty." Once when his life was in jeopardy he exclaimed: "If heaven means not to obliterate this doctrine from the earth, the men of Kwang can do nothing to me."

After a long exile Confucius finally returned to his native country in his sixty-eighth year. Taking a few of his disciples he withdrew to a secluded valley, and there employed himself in compiling "*The Five Classics*," an account of which has been given. He did not establish a religion as some seem to think, but simply condensed and arranged the works of the ancients which even then were held in great reverence by the people. He positively disclaimed all originality, and declared himself "one fond of antiquity; a transmitter, and not a maker; believing in and loving the ancients." This work having been accomplished, he made a solemn dedication of his literary labors to heaven.

"He assembled all his disciples, and led them out of the town to one of the hills where sacrifices had usually been offered for many years. Here he erected a table or altar, upon which he placed the books; and then turning his face to the north, adored heaven, and returned thanks upon his knees in an humble manner for having had life granted him to enable him to ac-



comply this laborious undertaking; he implored heaven to grant that the benefit to his countrymen from so arduous a labor might not be small. He had prepared himself for this ceremony by privacy, fasting, and prayer. Chinese pictures represent the sage in the attitude of supplication, and a beam of light or a rainbow descending from the sky upon the books, while his scholars stand around in admiring wonder."

This, the closing act of his life, calls to mind the opening one in the ministry of our Saviour.

This Chinese Solomon left a grandson from whom have come a long line of descendants. In 1671 A. D. there were in China eleven thousand males bearing his name, mainly of the 74th generation. What have the upstart descendants of William the Conqueror to boast of in the way of "blood" when compared with these Chinese aristocrats?

The writings of Confucius contain no reference to a personal God or a future life. All rewards and punishments are confined to this life. In some respects the Chinese Sage may be compared to king Solomon. When asked once what should be believed with reference to the future, he replied: "Imperfectly acquainted with the present, how can we know anything of the future?" He died in the year 479 B. C., aged 73. The Chinese have addressed to him the following pean which is frequently upon their lips:

"Confucius! Confucius! How great is Confucius!  
Before Confucius there never was a Confucius!  
Since Confucius there never has been a Confucius!  
Confucius! Confucius! How great is Confucius!"

2. *Works written by the Tauists.* The second class under the first general division of our subject is composed of the writings of the disciples of the Tao, or the Rationalists as they are sometimes called. The founder of this school, Lao-tse or Lao Kiun (born 604 B. C.), was already an old man when Confucius came upon the stage. The latter was conservative, orthodox. The former was a radical of the most destructive kind. He belonged to the extreme left-wing of Chinese thought, and there is a remarkable similarity between his writings and those of a celebrated American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson. Lao-tse's great work is the *Tautee King*, "Treatise on Truth and Virtue," and his doctrine is called Tauism, from the first character in the book, *Tau*, which means reason or truth. His writings are abstruse and

transcendental, and for that reason have never been popular with the masses. He never traveled, it is said (believing, no doubt, that "travel was a fool's paradise,") and collected no disciples. His philosophy, at first a negation, soon became, in the hands of his followers, a childish form of Positivism.

At least 311 works of considerable note have been written by those who followed in the footsteps of Lao-tse. Tschuang-tse (368—19 B. C.) was the author of the celebrated Nan-koa-King, and two or three satires aimed at the Confucians. In one place he says, "Life has its limits; but knowledge has no limits." A powerful ruler wished to make him prime minister, and sent him a valuable present with the request that he would come to court. But Tschuang-tse returned the present with this answer: "I would rather be a solitary pig and wallow in my own slough, than be a sacrificial bull, gaily adorned, but tied to the leading strings of the great."

3. *Works written by the Buddhists.* We come now to the third and last class under the head of Religious Works. Books of this class are numerous. Buddha was cotemporary with Lao-tse, but Buddhism was not introduced into China from India until about the first century of our era. This doctrine teaches the deception and falsity of everything that seems to exist, and declares the reality of non-existence. The Buddhist's prayer is, that he may be swallowed up, at last, in Nirvana, the great sea of being. This is the prevailing religion of China to-day. It supplements, among the common people, the philosophy of Confucius. It is a mistake to suppose that the great *dei πολλοι* are the enlightened and virtuous people that some would have us think; the fact is they roll in the styes of the "Bonzes."

The first ambassador who was permitted to enter China from India, brought with him a *Sutra* which was speedily translated. In this manner, work after work was introduced. In addition to these "holy books," or *King*, the Buddhistical literature in China embraces, commentaries, rituals, hymns, catechisms, encyclopedias and travels, written by Chinese monks, who have made pilgrimages to India. One writer, Wang-i-heu, defends Buddhism against the reproach brought upon it by the immoral practices of some who profess this religion. He says, "Should Lao-tse be despised because there are unworthy Taoists? or Confucius be

cause some of his disciples do not walk according to his precepts? Reasonable persons do not reject a truth because it has been spoken by a bad man, how much less then ought we to abandon this doctrine because of the evil practices of some who profess it." He also turns upon those extreme Radicals, within the fold, who deny the existence of a Nirvana, or heaven, outside of one-self. They maintain that Nirvana is to be attained here, in this life, and declare it to be a state of mind. The author controverts this position by quoting from Buddha, "out of whose mouth no lie ever came."

There have not been wanting those who forcibly opposed and ridiculed the doctrines of the Rationalists and Buddhists. As an example of this kind we quote the following extract from the writings of Wang-Yupf:

"Moreover, you say that serving Buddha is a profitable service; that if you burn paper-money, present offerings, and keep fasts before the face of your god Buddha, he will dissipate calamities, blot out your sins, increase your happiness, and prolong your age! Now reflect; from of old it has been said, 'The gods are intelligent and just.' Were Buddha a god of this description, how could he avariciously desire your gilt paper, and your offerings to engage him to afford you protection? If you do not burn gilt paper to him, and spread offerings on his altar, the god Buddha will be displeased with you, and send down judgments on you! Then your god Buddha is a scoundrel! Take, for example, the district magistrate. Should you never go to compliment and flatter him, yet, if you are good people and attend to your duty, he will pay marked attention to you. But transgress the law, commit violence, or usurp the rights of others, and though you should use a thousand ways and means to flatter him, he will still be displeased with you, and will, without fail, remove such pests from society."

"You say that worshipping Buddha atones for your sins. Suppose you have violated the law, and are hauled to the judgment seat to be punished; if you bawl out several thousand times: 'O, your excellency! O, your excellency!' do you think the magistrate would spare you? You will, however, at all risks, invite several Buddhist and Rationalist priests to your houses to recite their canonical books and make confession, supposing that to chant their mummery drives away misery, secures peace, and prolongs happiness and life. But suppose you rest satisfied with merely reading over the sections of the Sacred Commands (an imperial edict composed of sixteen apothegms) several thousands or myriads of times without acting conformably thereto; would it not be vain to suppose that his imperial majesty should delight in you, reward you with money, and promote you to office?"

II. PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. Under this head stands first and foremost the works of Chu Hi, the founder of a school of philo-

sophy. This writer ranks next to Confucius and Mencius in the estimation of the Chinese, and the title by which he is sometimes designated implies that "his like has never been born." He is called "The One." Just as Jean Paul receives the name, "Der Einziger," or "Only." We translate from Schott the following as being among the best of his sayings :

"Know thyself. One who, ignorant of himself, turns his attention outwards, resembles an unbridled horse ; he strays about without any purpose and finally loses himself."

"Let the thought of another ripen in your mind until it becomes your own. The reader nowadays (we discover here the old refrain about the degeneracy of the present times) does not allow the contents of a book to mature in himself. He reads in great haste and with playful delight. How can the subject-matter be absorbed ?"

"Even scholars often complain that they cannot retain the contents of a book. I know of but one remedy for this ; read less, and think more concerning what you read, then it will unconsciously take root in your mind."

The following extract will show how this writer reasons concerning the *primum mobile* :

"Under the whole heaven there is no primary matter without the immaterial principle, and no immaterial principle apart from the primary matter. Subsequent to the existence of immaterial principle is produced primary matter. \* \* \* Originally, however, no priority or subsequence can be predicted of the immaterial principle and primary matter, and yet if you insist upon carrying out the reasoning to the question of their origin, then you must say, that the immaterial principle has the priority ; but it is not a separate and distinct thing ; it is just contained in the centre of the primary matter, so that were there no primary matter, then this immaterial principle would have no place of attachment. \* \* \* Should any one ask for an explanation of the assertion that the immaterial principle has first existence, and after that comes primary matter, I say, it is not necessary to speak thus. But when you know that they are combined, is it that the immaterial principle holds the precedence, and the primary matter the subsequence ; or is it that the immaterial principle is subsequent to the primary matter ? Again I say, we cannot thus carry our reasoning ; but should we endeavor to form some idea of it, then we may suppose that the primary matter relies on the immaterial principle to come into action, and wherever the primary matter is coagulated there the immaterial principle is present." \* \* \*

"Should any one ask with regard to such expressions as this : 'Heaven in producing things treats men according to their attainments ; on those who do good, it sends down a hundred blessings, and on those who do evil, a hundred calamities,' does this and such like expressions imply that above the azure sky there is a Lord and Ruler who acts thus, or is it true that

heaven has no mind, and only men reason? I reply that the immaterial principle of order is thus. The primary matter in its evolution hitherto, after one season of fullness has experienced one of decay; and after a period of decline it again flourishes; just as if things were going on in a circle. There never was a decay without revival."

Chu Hi has found many followers who are known as the Literary Family or School-men. He flourished in the 12th century of our era.

III. HISTORICAL WORKS. The Hindoo writes poetry, the Chinese writes history. An immense number of historical works exist in this language. They are, for the most part, long, dry annals, arranged according to the reign of the different emperors. We have already alluded to the "Book of Records," and the "Spring and Autumn Annals," under the head of Religious Works. They bring the history of China down from about 2,350 B. C. until the death of Confucius. Aside from these may be mentioned the *Sz Ki*, or "Historical Memoirs," a great work written about 104 B. C., by Sz'ma Tsien, the Herodotus of Chinese history. It is divided into 130 chapters, and contains in all 526,500 characters.

Sz'ma Kwang wrote the *Tung Kien Kangmuh*, or General Mirror of History. It is divided into 294 chapters, and is one of the best works ever produced by Chinese historians.

Historical novels are much in vogue in China. The most celebrated is the *San Kwoh Chi*, or "History of the Three States." It was written by Chin Shan, about 350 A. D.

There are a great many biographies in the language. No country is so rich in this respect as China. The *Sing Pu* is a biographical dictionary in 120 volumes. Lin Hiang (125 B. C.) wrote the *Lieh Nü Chuen*, or "Memoirs of Distinguished Ladies of Ancient Times." This work is frequently quoted to show the superior culture and virtue of women in the olden time.

We might elaborate under this head did space permit.

IV. NOVELS. Novels, *Siau Shwoh*, or "Trifling Talk," as they are called, form the great staple of the Chinese book market. The book stores are filled with them. Little ingenuity is manifested in their plot, and the hero of the story is usually a young student who is struggling for literary honors. Schott divides this kind of

literature into three classes; historical, imaginative, and domestic. Historical romances are the most ancient; they turn upon some memorable period in the history of the country, and are oftentimes profusely illustrated. The most celebrated works of this class are the *San Kwoh Chi* already alluded to, and the *Schui hu tschuan*, both of which have been analyzed and partly translated by M. Bazin (*Journal Asiatique*, vols. 16 and 17). The second class are better described as fantastic than as imaginative. They resemble sometimes the German *Mährchen*. The *Asiatic Journal* for 1838 and 1839 contains translations of two of these stories, entitled, "The Elfin Fox," and "The Spectre Son." In 1834 Julien published, under the title of "Blanch et Blue," his translation of the romance *Pe sche ts'ing Ki*. We would like to give as a sample under this class a short story, selected from a collection called *Liau Chai*, or "Pastimes for the Study," a work celebrated on account of the purity of its style and copiousness of its expression.

Remusat says that Chinese novels resemble in their construction those of Richardson. In another respect they certainly call to mind those of Fielding and Smollett. This peculiarity is most noticeable in the case of short stories. An example of this class is the *Hung Lau Mung*, or "Dreams of the Red Chamber," a very popular work. Novels of any considerable length are free from this objection. The domestic romances are usually a faithful mirror of Chinese family life. Of this class two have found their way into English, *Haokieu-tschuan*, and *Ju-kia-li*. The former was first published at London, in 1761, under the title "The Pleasing History," then again in 1829, with the title "The Fortunate Union." Remusat translated the latter, and gave it the name "Les Deux Cousines." None of the books in this last subdivision are probably more than three hundred years old.

V. POETRY. The "morning star" of Chinese poetry was *Yuh Yuen*, a celebrated minister of state, who wrote in the Chu dynasty, "The Dissipation of Sorrow." His remedy for grief, it may be supposed, was suicide, for he put an end to his life by drowning himself in a canal. The two most celebrated poets are *Li Taipeh* and *Su Tungpo*, who are said to have combined the three leading traits of a bard, being lovers of flowers, wine, and song. Very amusing stories are told about the former. The Chi-



nese are famous for "machine poetry." The language favors its construction. It is not uncommon to meet with stanzas where each word in the line ends with the same sound. Like the following:

Liang kiang, siang niang, yang hiang tsiang  
Ki ni, pi chi, li hi mi, etc.

In this way poems have been written upon the most unpoetical subjects. One, quite celebrated, on shipping a cargo of tea; another descriptive of an English steam-boat. There is a ballad arranged in the form of a cow and a herd-boy leading her. The bovine portion of the song is the supposed complaint made by a cow because of her lot in being worked hard and poorly fed while alive, and then cut up and eaten as soon as she is dead. The part formed by the boy sets forth the felicity of rural life. A common collection of prayers, a Buddhist tract, is arranged like a pagoda, with images of Buddha sitting in the windows of each story.

The brightest day in the history of Chinese poetry, its Augustan age, was in the 9th and 10th century. The poems of Li Taipeh are contained in 30 volumes; those of Su Tungpo in 115. There is a collection of poems written in the Tung dynasty, published by imperial command in 990 volumes.

Chinese literature is by no means wanting in the department of plays and dramas. The tone and tendency of works under this head is always moral. Pere Phemare translated in 1731 a play which he called "The Orphan of Chou." Voltaire took it as the groundwork of one of his dramas. Sir J. F. Davis translated "The Heir in Old Age," and "The Sorrows of Han." "The Circle of Chalk" was rendered into French by Julien, and "The Intrigues of an Abigail," "The Compared Tunic," "The Songstress," and "The Resentment of Tau Ngo" into the same language by Bazin.

The Chinese employ, in speaking and writing, many proverbs and aphorisms. They meet the eye everywhere; upon the walls of houses, on signs, banners, and carpets. The *Ming Sin Pau Kien*, or "Jewelled Mirror for Illuminating the Mind," is a collection of popular proverbs. The *Ku Sz' Kiung Lin* is a work of like character, only more elaborate. We quote the following from the latter as samples:

"While one misfortune is going, to have another coming, is like

driving a tiger out of the front door, while a wolf is entering the back."

"To cut off a hen's head with a battle-axe (unnecessary valor)."

"A man with narrow thoughts and views is like a frog at the bottom of a well."

"If the blind lead the blind they will both go to the pit."

"He seeks the ass, and lo! he sits upon him."

"Speak not of others, but convict yourself."

"Prevention is better than cure."

"Better not be than be nothing."

"One thread does not make a rope, one swallow does not make a summer."

"If you love your son, give him plenty of the cudgel; if you hate him cram him with dainties."

"To sue a flea, and catch a bite; the results of litigation."

We have now finished our hurried and incomplete survey of the field of Chinese literature. There are several classes of books concerning which we have not written. Works on natural history, medicine, and physiology, are few and worthless. The authority in medicine at the present time is a book written long before Christ, entitled the *Nei King*, or "Book of the Insides." Chinese doctors to-day know next to nothing beyond what may be found in this text book. The Chinese are unacquainted with the geography of foreign countries, and are ignorant of the languages, manners, customs, and history of other nations.

This great mass of literature, with the exception of the ten canonical books, has been accumulated since the year 247 B. C. In that year, or thereabouts, the emperor Tsin, who built the great wall, caused all the books in the empire to be destroyed. He did this in order that posterity might regard him as the first-emperor of China. The writings of Confucius and Mencius were particularly specified, and "more than 500 literati were buried alive, so that no one might remain to reproach the first emperor in their writings, for such a barbarous and insane act" (Williams). But after the death of Tsin all of the classics were reproduced from the memory of an old scholar. Years afterwards, when mutilated copies of the original works were discovered, they were found to differ only in a few words from those recently made. There is nothing very strange in this to a Chinese. If the ten canonical

books were to be destroyed to-day, there are thousands of scholars in China who could replace them from memory. Children at school commit considerable portions of these works without knowing the meaning of a single word they pronounce. Just as if a school-boy were to memorize several books of Virgil, without being able to translate from Latin into English.

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#### ART. VII.—PIONEERS AND FOUNDERS.

THIS is the title of Miss Yonge's volume just published in Macmillan's Sunday Library; a serial, by the way, which deserves all praise. It is a book of missionary work and life, beginning with Eliot's first attempts in New England, in 1644, and ending with Bishop Mackenzie's death, on "the banks of the fever-haunted Zambesi," in 1862. It does not profess to be—indeed, it declares itself not to be—"a history of the missions of modern times." All the Jesuit Missions and all the Moravian Missions are passed by. With a single exception, the "narrations deal with men exclusively of British blood;" nor do the labors, however great, of any now living find a place in them. The writer's object "has been to throw together such biographies as are most complete, most illustrative, and have been found most inciting to stir up others—representative lives."

That Miss Yonge should give her readers a work full of interest was to be expected. But she has, it seems to us, done more. She has written missionary memoirs which have not been surpassed, and added to our stock of religious biography a volume thoroughly genuine and healthy, and free from exaggeration, unkindness or cant.

This is more than can be said of a good deal that goes under the name of religious biography. We need not pause upon those productions in this line, intended for the use of Sunday Schools, which by their exaggerated unreality simply stir up the old Adam in our young people; or lead children, otherwise well enough disposed, to fear that if they are *very* good they are doomed to an early grave; a fate scarcely compensated for, in their estimation, by a large and imposing funeral. Apart from all this, how much

there is in many so-called religious biographies that is absolutely shocking and repellant.

It is now more than sixty years since Sydney Smith wrote, in the *Edinburgh Review*, articles on Methodism and Missions, in which, with much that was very objectionable, there was not a little that was true and opportune. We wish there were any way of estimating the mischief which the style of writing against which he inveighed, has done to the interests of religion, in the course of these sixty years. Unhappily there is none.

We have touched, in passing, a topic on which volumes might be written. At the risk, however, of an unwarrantable digression, we are going to pause upon it long enough to ask our readers to consider seriously those wretched errors, each involving high-treason against our holy religion, which pervade so many modern religious biographies.

The first is the so frequent substitution of impulse and emotion as guides of conduct in the place of God's Law. It does not matter that these impulses and emotions are sometimes called convictions of conscience. Conscience is a word used very much at hap-hazard, and very often regarded as the source of any strong feeling. This is bad enough. But when strong feeling or impulse are first confounded with a conviction of conscience, and then such a supposed conviction is taken as a sufficient guide of conduct, irrespective of God's Law, who can estimate the evil that is wrought? "It is not," says Bishop Sanderson, "in the power of any man's judgment or conscience to alter the natural condition of anything whatsoever, either in respect of quality or degree; but everything which was good remaineth good, and everything which was evil remaineth evil."\* Here, by the way, in this confusion about the office of conscience, fanaticism and popery touch hands.

Not, however, to spend more words on this matter, the second error consists in separating religion, and, therefore, a religious life, from ordinary duties and common things. "Religion" and "the religious" meant, and we suppose mean still, in the Roman Church, Monasticism or Religious Orders, and Monks or Brethren. We are told that some persons in our own Church are aping this

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\* Sermon IV. *ad clerum*. See also Sir William Palmer, on *Development and Conscience*, C. V.

phraseology. These same words in certain quite opposite quarters, have a meaning very nearly as objectionable, and quite as much coming under the appellation of cant.

We know, for instance, of a man's objecting to his wife's confirmation on the ground that if she became "religious," she would neglect her household! An exceedingly silly mistake, no doubt, but due to this very false teaching about religion. Miss Yonge narrates an incident to the same purpose, in her *Life of Eliot*. Had she known as much of certain styles of religionism as some of us do in America, she would have omitted her parenthesis. "One of [Eliot's] friends objected (oddly enough, as it seems to us,) to his stooping to pick up a weed in his garden. 'Sir, you tell us we must be heavenly-minded.' 'It is true,' he said, 'and this is no impediment unto that; for, were I sure to go to heaven to-morrow, I would do what I do to-day.'" All honor to John Eliot! But we venture to say that few would have agreed with or understood him.

Now, on the other side, and the true side, let us hear George Herbert:

"Teach me, my God and King,  
In all things Thee to see;  
And what I do in anything,  
To do it as for Thee.

"All may of Thee partake;  
Nothing can be so mean,  
Which with this tincture, FOR THY SAKE,  
Will not grow bright and clean.

"A servant with this claim,  
Makes drudgery divine;  
Who sweeps a room, as for Thy laws,  
Makes that and th' action fine."

May we venture to add the well-known, but never hackneyed, lines of Keble?

"The trivial round, the common task,  
Would furnish all we need to ask;  
Room to deny ourselves; a road  
To bring us, daily, nearer God."

Nor may we omit those golden words that begin the Preface to the *Christian Year*: "Next to a sound rule of faith, there is nothing of so much consequence as a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion."

The third error, and a sad one it is, is found in the denunciatory and pharisaical way in which evil men and opposers are spoken of. "Abhor that which is evil," is, indeed, the divine rule. But surely the Lord weeping over Jerusalem is the pattern of a Christian's temper towards fellow-men in error or in sin. There seems to be a strange perversion, in this regard, in many quarters, just now. Charity is supposed to be an indifference to truth—coupled with any and all railing accusations against men. He is a bigot who holds firm to truth and law, however kindly he may judge or speak of individuals. He is a charitable man who, holding firm to no truth and no law, inveighs against, accuses, maligns, nevertheless, those who differ from him, to the full.

In so-called religious biography, this spirit often runs out in interpretations of events in the orderings of Providence, which are full of spiritual pride and pharisaism. It is very easy for a man to say when evil befalls his neighbor, that the Lord's judgments have descended on the sufferer. It is quite as easy when trouble comes to himself, to utter complacent words about His loving chastisements. He that does it, however, not only harms himself, but he wounds the religion of Christ "in the house of its friends."

And along with all this there often go wretched exhibitions of a "pride that apes humility." Morleena Kenwig was to say to children in the street who asked her about their French tutor, "Yes, we have a tutor, but we aren't proud, because ma says it's *sinful* to be proud." Morleena Kenwigses are not altogether unknown in the line of literature of which we are writing.

Now all this does infinite harm. It repels where it ought to attract. It superinduces the idea of sham, where all ought to be most real. We believe Sydney Smith spoke truth when he said, "That modest and unobtrusive piety which fills the heart with all human charities, and makes a man gentle to others, and severe to himself, is an object of universal veneration and love." But the biographies which we criticise, have little enough of this. While they picture character without an intended shade, they are, really, all shadow. While they are clamorous in denunciation, they make good to be evil spoken of. They are mawkish and unreal and true manliness turns from them. They are a spiritual



shower-bath in which there comes no reaction, bringing with it the warmth and glow of a freshened life.

We are rich—let us be thankful—in biographies of which no such things as we have been saying can be justly said. But there are plenty floating about which are fairly open to these strictures, and these work with,—horrified as their authors may be to think so,—these work with the sensational literature of the day, in weakening alike the intellect and the moral sense of man.

Not one of the bad and disagreeable things just named, nor of many others that might be named, is to be found in Miss Yonge's charming volume. It is a very model of what such a book should be. And of all the obligations under which its author has laid all English-speaking people, we know none greater than those which it imposes. Not the least part of its value is the proof it everywhere gives that there may be the truest, widest, most generous sympathy with high endeavor and holy purpose, without abating one jot of principle, or compromising one tittle of the truth. And this is not a teaching which is altogether needless in our day.

As we rise from reading the volume before us, we feel strongly the force of Miss Yonge's striking words in her preface :

"The need of system seems to me one of the great morals to be deduced from the lives I have here collected. I confess that I began with the unwilling feeling that greater works had been effected by persons outside the pale of the Church than by those within; but as I have gone on, the conviction has grown on me that though the individuals were often great men, their works lacked that permanency and grasp that the Church work, as such, has had."

This is a pregnant passage. It carries us straight back to St. Paul and St. Barnabas, when, after preaching the word, they "ordained them elders in every Church;" to St. Paul placing Timothy at Ephesus, and Titus in Crete; in a word to the whole systematic work of the Apostolic builders of the Church. System, or lack of system, comes out in work just as, on the one hand, the character of Christianity as an Institution is firmly grasped, or as, on the other, it is regarded as an idea, or a life, or a doctrine, or an emotion, more or less definite as the case may be, but left to float about in men's minds, and work its way in the world as it can.

But, after all, there is more needed than system. The Jesuits in their North American Missions had system enough, but where are the results of their missions to-day? There are no abiding results to be found or shown. Many causes, no doubt, contributed to this total failure. A special one, in a special region, was the fall of the Hurons under the murderous raids of the Iroquois. But chief among all causes is the fact that the Jesuit Missionaries never rose to the purpose of founding a self-perpetuating, native Church. And the absence of this purpose will ever be fatal to the permanence of missionary work. Whatever other defects there may have been in the Jesuits' system,—and they were neither few nor far to seek,—this one is prominent and fatal.

They made and they kept their converts simply obedient children and nothing more. There was, there could be, no development of character, no lifting up of the people into proper self-reliance and self-help, no training of an order of native clergy. What the converts were in the beginning that they were, and were to be, all along in the indefinite future. There was to be no advance. The Jesuit was ever to continue the father, the ruler, the administrator, the priest, and the Indian was always to remain the neophyte. What the first mission house of Notre Dame des Anges was on the banks of the St. Charles, that the latest was to be. The earliest movement was ultimate.

How utterly unlike is this ideal to that of the Apostles and the Primitive Church! Nay, we may say, unlike to that of the Church in any century till we reach the sixteenth. Up to that time wherever the missionary goes, there comes a native Church, a national Church, with a native clergy, ritual, life. We need not pause to give details. They must occur to any reader of Church history.

Now it is easy enough to see why with and after the Trentine consolidation, Rome, in her missionary work, may have changed this Catholic mode of working. The same policy which forbade the "vote by nations" at Trent, would be shy of founding or perpetuating national Churches. But it is not so easy to see why the same line of policy should have been—happily not always—but sometimes adopted by other bodies, who have no love for Romish ways or methods. Be all that, however, as it may, we hold firmly to this thesis, that no missionary efforts in heathen lands will be

effectively permanent, except as they strive to found, and striving, do found, native churches with a native clergy and a national rite. For the rule herewith involved, we appeal to the example of the Apostles and the early, undivided Church. For proof of the working of the rule we appeal to the history of missions, earlier or later.

#### ART. VIII.—NEWMAN'S APOLOGIA.

APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA. *Being a reply to a Pamphlet entitled, "What then does Dr. Newman Mean?" By John Henry Newman, D.D. Fifth edition. New York, 1868.*

WHETHER the *obiter dictum* of Mr. Kingsley in Macmillan was<sup>o</sup>, the cause, or only the occasion, of Dr. Newman's book is a matter of little consequence. Its result has been a work of very deep interest to the Churchman, the Theologian, and the Psychologist.

Quite as much of the same sort had been said of the author before, as is said by Mr. Kingsley in the paragraph that gave such deep offence. But nothing before this was considered as of sufficient importance to command his notice; or to justify his publication to the world of his defence of himself, his conduct, and his life; we say "his publication to the world"—since the book had been doubtless prepared for many months, to await the "convenient season," and the true body of it is evidently the "History of my Religious Opinions" neatly set in a frame of Letters to and from Mr. Kingsley on one side, and the "General Answer to Mr. Kingsley" on the other.

The following quotation will give the ground of this judgment of Mr. Newman's moving cause:

"For twenty years and more I have borne an imputation of which I am at least as sensitive, who am the object of it, as they can be who are only the judges. I have not set myself to remove it, first, because I never had an opening to speak, and next, because I never saw in them a disposition to hear. I have wished to appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. When shall I pronounce him to be himself again? If I may judge from the tone of the public press, which represents the public voice, I have great reason to take heart at this time." p. 28.

And yet as an apology for not recognizing the initials "C. K.," he declares, "Certainly I saw the initials at the end; but you

must recollect, *I live out of the world.*" (Letter V., p. 7). The echoes of the public prints, at all events, kept him well informed of the movement of the times out of which he lived, and a happy inspiration told him of the hour, and circumstance, favorable to the utterance of his defence.

We must do this gentleman the credit to say, that he has lost none of his skill in fence, or of the use of "economy." He has managed Mr. Kingsley admirably, and in the argument with that particular gentleman, has driven him into such very close quarters, that he can only use a fragment of Dr. Newman's works, to substantiate his charges. We can hardly recall any more successful generalship in war or theology.

The substance of this Article was written several months ago, for the benefit of a parishioner, who was quite bewildered for a time by the plausibilities of the *Apologia*. A repetition of that experience, has suggested the idea of putting it into a more permanent form than that of a MS., particularly as there seems to be a disposition in some minds to coquette with the new faith of Rome.

There are men, and Dr. Newman is one of them, who have the faculty of exciting human love, and moving human sympathy to a most remarkable degree. One necessary element in such characters is real or seeming honesty; but while the semblance of it may deceive for a time, the truth comes out at last. No man can always live a life of wilful dissimulation, and escape discovery in the end.

It certainly is due to Dr. Newman to say, that many of his friends of better days, do yet give him their fullest love and confidence; but there has been added to these emotions, since the day of his apostacy, a deep pity. Still the multitude of Protestants and Anglicans do not hesitate to marshal themselves on the side of Mr. Kingsley, thus giving the lie to that imagined public sentiment of which Dr. N. keeps himself informed while living out of the world.

There really does not seem to be any middle ground on which one can rest, in judging his case: and perhaps the summing up of the verdict of his former friends would be, "John Henry Newman is fearfully deceived, or criminally disingenuous; he is a deluded saint, or the incarnation of Jesuitry."

The growing impression of which one is conscious during the

perusal of the *Apologia*, is that there is something unreal in this production. The book seems to have been made, and smacks of art. You read in it the record of a regular progression, all through life, even from boyhood, in a fixed and definite direction. Occasionally that progress is retarded; but at such a time the author sits on a fence and swings his feet, with his face towards the same point; and when the feet come down, be sure they will carry their master along the same course.

And what is that point but Romanism?—a something which begins where the Catholic Creed ends; and it itself ends God alone can tell where.

A Christian and a Priest may be, and often is, assailed by doubts, which for a time are very decided, are very troublesome; but here is the singular revelation by a Christian and a Priest of a continual state of mental unrest, lasting well nigh all through life. That is indeed a possible mental condition. "Unstable as water thou shalt not excel," may be true of both our spiritual and intellectual state. But the curious part of it is that it should be true of a man possessing the scholarship and acquirements of Dr. Newman. He is not wanting in the discriminating judgment with which he culls from his wealth of thoughts and words. He is able to present his ideas in very sharp and incisive language. He is able to determine "'twixt north and northwest side" of every theological and metaphysical question; yet *by the book* he was forever befogged in mind and heart. He was always without ballast. He was forever entering into, or emerging out of, storms, and mists and clouds; only—let it be marked!—to find every wave heaving him nearer the Papacy,—only to find himself issuing out of his mists, nearer to Rome. It is very remarkable! Small things and great; school-boy experiences and the wisdom of mature years, unconsciously yet irresistibly impel him to that goal. The unreal thing is that a man with such capacities, acquirements, and experiences should have been so utterly ignorant of his real status, and that notwithstanding, in the midst of his uncertainty, he should have determined himself, or have been determined by an invincible fate to precisely his present position.

As an instance of the extent to which he forces this view upon us, recall this incident:

"I was very superstitious, and for some time previous to my conversion [at the age of fifteen] used constantly to *cross myself on going into the dark*." p. 54.

Again, his "breath was taken away" at Littlemore, on looking over his first Latin Verse Book, to find:

"John H. Newman, February 11th, 1811, Verse Book; then follow my first verses. Between 'Verse' and 'Book' I have drawn *the figure of a solid Cross upright*, and next to it is what may be meant for a necklace, but what I cannot make out to be anything else than *a set of beads* suspended, with a little cross attached." p. 55.

*Per contra*, he substituted for epithets in his Gradus describing the Pope, others too "vile" for repetition, deleting the title "Vicar of Christ," which otherwise he must have carried along with him in his journey *ad Parnassum* (p. 161).

Now these are not very serious matters. Most boys draw solid Latin crosses, or crosses of some kind, in their text books. Nearly all without exception deface them with gargoyles, caricatures, or ambitious attempts at the profiles of their masters, or of some young rival in learning or lore. The queerness in this case, lies in the fact that Dr. Newman should have inserted this revelation of his experience in such matters, in so very sober a production as that of the *Apologia*. Evidently he wished his readers to attach importance to what he perhaps regards as early omens of his present providentially-disposed position—a position which initiates him into the privileges that attach to sacred bones, sainted fingernails, and undoubted fragments of the Holy Cross.

The father of Gen. Grant tells us of the dogged determination which his son showed, while yet a boy, to conquer a brute at the circus that had thrown him more than once, and this fact he makes prophetic of his future career. So Dr. Newman would have his solid crosses and possible beads to be taken as signs significant of that good Providence by which it was intended he should become one of the Pope's most submissive servants!

Later in life he diverts his feet, for a time, from the Roman direction, and becomes lost in the pitfalls of election and reprobation—unless one may regard reaction from the idea of arbitrary Divine sovereignty to that of human Papal absolution, to be but an impulse along the same route.

His present spiritual status, evidently did not promote the grace



of humility. Does it ever do so? At least Dr. Newman was induced to "rest in the thought of two and two only supreme and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator." Perhaps this is not an unusual human experience under similar circumstances. Indeed one may always logically look for this fruit from this root; but in Dr. Newman's case it is only one of the many helps with which he is propped up by Providence, all through his singular life, and by means of which he is continually reaching conditions of "intellectual inconsistency" touching—the *status of Rome*! A state of semi-agreement with Abp. Whateley, which comes by way of interlude, is finally resolved into another of absolute antagonism between them. This is followed by studies, in which Romish Theology is adopted as the standard of truth. "The movement" is inaugurated—a technic, by the way, frequently used in this book which reminds one forcibly of "The cause" of Puritanism. Well, "the movement" culminates in Tract No. XC.; at which the real Catholics of England revolt—the Dr. became shocked and hurt at the condemnation of his pet piece, grew quite petulant because he "was not let alone;" and finally was "*taken in*" (in more senses than one) on an October night by "Father Dominic the Passionist."

The narrative was with absolute determination, from the solid cross and necklace "that might have been a set of beads," via., electionism, reprobationism, and Whatelyanism, down to the doings of Father Dominic. No matter what the intellectual, or metaphysical, or theological doubts and difficulties surrounding or grieving him, the melting away of the mists always discovered him to himself more nearly approached to Rome and its system; without any apparent reason for it; without any explanation of the strange fact. Dr. Newman invariably makes Catholic truth co-incident with Roman Dogma—and wherever Anglicanism is deficient by this test, it is wanting in the weighing.

Perhaps it may all have been as the Doctor says—perhaps he may have merely erred in the interpretation of his life history, but he must pardon one, "who worships God after the manner that he calls heresy," for suspecting, that all these incidents have been systematically arranged for an object, and that the absolutism behind which he is hiding himself at the present time, controlled him for years before the 8th October, 1845. Perhaps, when Dr.

Wiseman expressed the wish that he should pay a *second* visit to Rome, "the work we have to do in England," which then forbade it, had connection with some plan involving other Anglicans beside himself. Certainly, Dr. Newman has never categorically denied the charge, that he was a Romanist while in Anglican orders. Hurrell Froude, his closest and most intimate friend, "professed openly *his* admiration of the Church of Rome, and his hatred of the Reformers," (p. 73,) without at all repelling him from his confidence, sympathy, or esteem. The same Froude "was powerfully drawn to the Medieval Church, but not to the primitive," (p. 74,) without exciting Newman's sense of the incongruity of his situation, or his inconsistency. As far back as 1820, (p. 80,) he was 'both exalted and abashed' at the 'joyous swing of the advance' of the Church of Rome, and declares, "I said to myself, 'look on this picture and on that.' I felt affection for my own Church, *but not tenderness. I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity.*" Surely these were not feelings that could find place in the breast of an Anglican!

Cardinal Wiseman in 1836, "with the acuteness and zeal which might be expected of that great Prelate, *had anticipated what was coming,*" and delivered lectures in London on the doctrines of Roman Catholicism. When all lost confidence in him after the issue of No. XC, his friends had only anticipated his own verdict, "*I had already lost confidence in myself,*" (p. 132,) as an Anglican of course. In 1829, under date September 7, he made this memorandum: "Now in my rooms in Oriel College, *slowly advancing, &c.,* and led on by God's hand blindly, not knowing whither He is taking me," (p. 159.) In 1833, he asks, "Is it nothing to be able to look on *our mother*, [a cruel step-mother if any,] *to whom we owe the blessing of Christianity (!)* with affection instead of hatred?" In 1841, (p. 202,) he declares of himself, "In spite of my ingrained fears of Rome, and the decision of my reason and conscience against her usages; in spite of my affection for Oxford and Oriel, *yet I had a secret longing love of Rome*, the mother of English Christianity(?) and I had a true devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in whose College I lived, *whose altar I served (!)* and whose Immaculate Purity I had in one of my earliest printed sermons, made much of." And then his monastery which he certainly proposed to found, of which he writes with such singular indefinite-

ness to the Bishop of Oxford:—put all these things together, and is it any wonder that there is “a prepossession against him?” that when his statements seem unanswerable, one fears that “there is always something put out of sight, or hidden in his sleeve?”

A statement has been made that we have never seen contradicted, that Dr. Newman has never been re-ordained in the Roman Church. Is it true? What wonder then that all honest, frank people, should have lost confidence in him?

If this theory be true, it would not be the first time in the history of Anglicanism, that Rome should adopt such tactics. The murder of King Charles, the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud, the origination of Sectarianism and Dissent, over which many Protestants do now so piously rejoice, are distinctly traceable to the diplomacy of a few godly or ungodly Roman “Fathers” two hundred years ago. Nor can one refuse to believe in the possibility of a return to its old plans and devices, on the part of “infallibility.”

This ghost of unreality that haunts one on every page, rises to remind one of these historic facts—and also to suggest the question, whether there is not as much fancy as fact—argument as narrative—in this record that Dr. Newman has written of the manner in which he became a Romanist.

Nor will the strange and damaging admissions that have been permitted to find a place on its pages, make against the theory we adopt of the animus of the *Apologia*. Why are they there at all? What does he mean by making them? The best way to answer these questions is to examine the admissions themselves.

“What principally attracted me in the Ante-Nicene period, was the great Church of Alexandria, the historical centre of teaching in those times. OF ROME, FOR SOME CENTURIES, COMPARATIVELY LITTLE IS KNOWN. The battle of Arianism was first fought in Alexandria. Athanasius, the Champion of the Truth, was Bishop of Alexandria; and in his writings he refers to the great religious names of an earlier date, to Origen, Dionysius, and others who were the glory of its See, or of its school.” p. 75.

Anglicans have known this all along. Dr. Newman used to know it, and this quotation from the *Apologia* shows that he has not yet forgotten it. We know too that the same principle which still enlivens Anglicanism, ruled at Nice, when each Bishop produced his Creed, thus making appeal to the days before them.

We know that it was re-affirmed at Constantinople, and proclaimed anew at Ephesus in the Canon that *ipso facto* excommunicates Dr. Newman, Father Dominic, and Pius IX. But what is the explanation of its insertion here?

"This statement is repeated in substance. It is said, and truly, that the Church of Rome possessed no great mind in the whole period of persecution.\* Afterwards, for a long while, it has not a single doctor to show. St. Leo, its first, is the teacher of one point of doctrine. St. Gregory, who stands at the very extremity of the first age of the Church, has no place in dogma or philosophy. The great luminary of the western world, is, as we know, St. Augustine; he, *no infallible teacher*, has formed the intellect of Europe. *Indeed to the African Church generally, we must look for the best early exposition of Latin ideas.*"

This cool usurpation of the glory of the Alexandrian Church, and its appropriation by Romanism, is not less bold than many other of its extremely impertinent acts. But what is the object of these damaging admissions? Is it to disarm us of the powerful defence to be found in Catholic Truth, by a seeming acknowledgment of its force, only to spread out a chart of another way, with a show of great candor? As if to say "yes, all that seems very forcible and very true—but how can you explain the fact that after three hundred years of obscurity, Rome should rise to pre-eminence, except 'that the principle of development not only accounts for certain facts, but was in itself a remarkable philosophical phenomenon, giving a character to the whole course of Christian thought.' " Is it not admirably arranged? And is it not singular how very "providentially" Dr. Newman's whole life-experience, tended to illustrate this "truth"?

Or is it an honest confession of a tremendous difficulty in the way of the acceptance of Roman Dogma, invincible, obstinate, ruinous to all the pretensions of an infallible Papacy that still disturbs the dreams of the restless mind of an unstable man?

Again, desiring to remove out of the way, all hindrances to our obedience to the Papal See, Dr. Newman declares:

"The Council of Trent was not over, nor its Decrees promulgated, at the date when the [39] articles were drawn up, so that those articles must be aimed at something else." p. 128.

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\* That is, be it remembered, during the first three hundred years of the existence of the Christian Church.

This "something else" was, *political supremacy, dominant errors, and popular corruptions* suffered by the Court of Rome. But there is clearly a reference to Tridentine Decrees in the Twenty-Second Article, where purgatory, pardons, worshipping, and adoration of images and relics, and invocation of saints, are called "*Romish Doctrines*," a term inapplicable, until after the Council of Trent had defined as *de fide*, what before were only matters of opinion. Hence, this term must have been inserted subsequently to the action of Trent on the Canon of the mass.

But granting the absolute truth of the statement, and remembering that the Bishop of Rome now imposes "the faith of the Holy Roman Church" on his subjects and proselytes, and that this "faith" is neither less nor more than the systematic arrangement of relatively modern opinions, imposed by the Council of Trent as *de fide*: one finds herein a confession that *Tridentinism is younger than the Anglican Reformation*. It therefore takes its place with Calvinism, Baptistism, and Methodism. The object of Dr. Newman was to remove Anglican prejudice against Romish Dogma, by showing that there is no verbal antagonism between the formal definition of the two systems. That the Articles protest against one thing, and that the Decrees utter their affirmations with relation to another. But his admission recoils upon himself, and by his own weapon is he put *hors du combat*.

But let us turn now to another point. Dr. Pusey, in the only part of his EIRENICON that deserves to live, has shown the fearful extent to which the cultus of the B. V. M. has reached in countries under the absolute government and control of papal ideas. Now a revelation of this sort, uncontradicted or unexplained, would sadly increase "the work to be done in England," by Dr. Newman and the '*Verts*'. Hence we find much of the Apologia given up to this subject, and if his declaration of what one may hold in the Roman Communion, on this infallibly decided Dogma, be not true, it is at least quite significant and very subtle.

He says that as the strongest quotations that Anglicans make to prove the mariolatry of Rome, are taken from the writings of St. Alfonso, he applied to Dr. Russell of Maynooth for a copy of the writings of the "saint." Strangely enough he was unable to find what he was looking for in the edition put into his hands. Knowing his former colleagues well enough to know that they

would not be guilty of any deception in the matter, his inquiries were rewarded with the discovery, that the works of Alfonso, intended—not for Anglican reading, mark you, but—for English Roman Catholics, were expurgated. After which follow these remarkable words :

“ This omission in the case of a book intended for Catholics, at least showed that such passages as are found in the works of Italian authors *were not acceptable to every part of the Catholic world*. Such devotional manifestations in honor of our Lady had been my great *crux* as regards Catholicism. *I say frankly, I do not fully enter into them now*. I trust I do not love her the less because I cannot enter into them. They may be fully explained and defended, but sentiment and taste do not run with logic; *they are suitable for Italy, but they are not suitable for England*.” p. 228.

But, then, may not one lawfully ask, what has become of the claim to infallibility? and of the absoluteness of doctrine in the Roman Obedience? Is that doctrine, dogma, or article of the faith Catholic, “ which is suitable for Italy, but unsuitable for England?” What then does one gain by following Dr. Newman to Rome? To be no longer called “ heretic,” but “ catholic ” by the Bishop of Rome? Still one might be Romanly orthodox in America and England, and heretical so soon as he sets foot on the soil of Italy. Father Dominic’s services ought surely to be called into requisition for something more serious than the giving of a name!

It *might* mean more if Papal power kept pace with Papal will, as in the days of yore. Then we might be able to imagine a condition of things in which “ heretic ” meant stakes, and faggots, and a flame; while “ catholic ” would be an asbestos suit to keep us from the harm of these.

But really is it not “ a most lame and impotent conclusion ” to which our modern perverts offer to bring us—when after offering rest, peace, and infallible assurance in the supremacy of the Roman Bishop—the discovery of the true *cultus* which we should offer; the being to whom it should be offered; and the manner of it, that we should be told of a difference between Italy and England, as wide as the poles? And shall we renounce Anglicanism and true Catholicity for this bare “ word of promise ” that is broken to heart, and hope, and ear? Wherever Anglo-Catholicism has gone—and that is all the wide-world over—she presents the same faith,



and object of faith, to Caucasian, African, and Maori, and if one wishes to seek "infallibility," it is to learn something profounder than the profound sentiment that "taste often runs counter to logic!"

But has Dr. Newman made a true statement of the case? Is not the "pious opinion" of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Immaculateness, and the love and *cultus* due her, lifted quite clear of the atmosphere of fancy and taste; of the hard, dry handling of logic; or of the latitude allowed the human mind in matters of opinion? Is not unbelief here a cause of damnation, whether we be of Italy or England? Dr. Newman needs no man to tell him of the difficulties that will do more than suggest themselves to a mind trained in Anglicanism, on reading this exposition of Roman dogma, and therefore he sets himself to meet them, and to endeavor to make these divergences coincide. Perhaps he was smiling as he wrote the following words:

"The idea of the Blessed Virgin was, as it were, *magnified* in the Church of Rome, as time went on—but so were all Christian ideas; as of the Blessed Eucharist. The whole scene of pale, faint, Apostolic Christianity is seen at Rome *as through a telescope or magnifier*. The harmony of the whole however is of course what it was. It is unfair to take one ROMAN idea, that of the Blessed Virgin out of what may be called its context." pp. 229, 230.

Not dwelling upon the admission that "magnified Christianity" is "Roman"—or, that by the same reasoning, the transubstantiation of Italy, ought to be somewhat different from that of England—the question suggests itself whether a faith which has been confessedly magnified out of the proportions fixed for it by the Eternal Son of God, is a safe one for salvation?

We will not quarrel over the degree of faintness with which "Apostolic Christianity" is seen at Rome. We are willing to agree that it is very "pale" beside the gaudy hues of that practiced at the headquarters of Papacy, and is so very different from that which St. Paul preached there, and wrote about in his Epistle, that the Apostle would be at a loss to know what to do, or where to bestow his cloak and parchments if he were to return there just now.

It is also very true that everything within the circle of the object glass of a telescope, is proportionately magnified—still the glass covers only part of the landscape after all, and that part is



thrown entirely out of proportion with all the rest. So it is hard to understand the telescopic dogma of the Blessed Virgin Mary, except upon the hypothesis that she has been singled out of all the facts of Christianity, and she alone covered by this mysterious glass. Would one have supposed it possible that John Henry Newman, D. D., could have put his name to such an absurdity?

He does not propose to account by this telescopic theory for the enormous mass of sin and ignorance which he declares to exist in his "world-wide, multiform communion"—but it saddens one to remember, that to be permitted the privilege of shouldering this "mass of sin and ignorance," he has been forced to pay the price of the rejection of the English Bible—the Sacraments as they were ordained of Christ—and a Christian life *totus teres atque rotundus*; and now that he has more than he is able to bear, would have us go to him, to put our necks again under the same heavy yoke which our fathers were not able to bear.

He confesses (p. 98) "I HAVE ADDED ARTICLES TO MY CREED," and yet would have us dare God, and oppose the General Councils by doing the same thing. These are his admissions—damaging enough, one would suppose, to any system. But he is really arguing the old questions over in a new and different style, and so we follow him in his Romish reasoning, under plea of relating his own life history.

At the end of 1841 he found temporary relief in the comforting theory, the "we [Anglicans] were 'Samaria.'" p. 192.

Dr. Newman presented this view to many minds that were unsettled, and "in a state of great excitement," that "we were Samaria," and this to quiet that excitement and remove unrest. That is, Dr. Newman, and certain other men, associated with him in "the movement," having first unsettled, and very much excited the unstable minds whom they had beguiled by this gradual introduction of Roman heresy, comforted themselves by assuming that their Spiritual Mother was the offspring of self-will, schism, and heathenism. If we are Samaritans we are "worshipping we know not what; for salvation is of the"—Romans! One does not wonder that he could not at this period "defend our separation from Rome without using arguments prejudicial to those great doctrines concerning our Lord, which are the very foundation of the Christian Faith." For if the whole truth of Christ be based for its reason-

able assurance on the *ipse dixit* of the Bishop of Rome, "and salvation is of him," separation from him can by no means be defended. But, then, it is very singular that no prophet has told us that the "law should go forth of" Rome; while the caution of more than one bids us to "come out of her."

Would a reasonable man decide that Dr. Newman had any ground to complain that the discovery of his insincerity produced restlessness with true Anglicans? Or that he had any right to grow fidgetty because he was not "let alone?" Yet he seems to think even now that he should have been permitted to beguile unstable souls without molestation—that he should have received *carte blanche* to influence unsettled young minds with his solemn trifling about "Samaria."

"After Tract 90 (he says) the Protestant world would not let me alone. They pursued me in the public journals to Littlemore." (p. 208). "What have I done (he cries out with an air of injured innocence) that I am to be called to account by the world for my private actions, in a way in which no one else is called?" (p. 211). "I feel it hard both on your Lordship (of Oxford) and myself, that the restlessness of the public mind should oblige you to require an explanation of me." (p. 210). This last in a letter to his Bishop.

One would imagine that a burglar might make the same complaint because his "private actions" were examined into. But what else could Dr. Newman expect? He could not hope to continue his "great work" without let or hindrance, as soon as its character and nature were discovered. He did no more in principle then than he is doing now. He sent forward, on the road he afterwards travelled himself, restless minds that he had unsettled. He made then, and he repeats now, the *suggestio falsa*, that the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome, when he knows that there was no such schism until the 13th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and that then Rome withdrew from England after Pius IV. had twice offered, ten years before, to confirm the reformed Liturgy, if his supremacy was re-asserted and acknowledged. He writes back (8 Nov. 1845) to an editor, who had prophesied his perversion, that "'Anglican principles' are, I should say, taking *antiquity*, not the *existing church* as the oracle of truth"—when antiquity is simply used as a witness that the existing church speaks, as the past church has spoken—"and hold-

ing that the *apostolical succession* is a sufficient guaranty of Sacramental Grace without *union with the Christian Church throughout the world*—when Rome is in just the same position with reference to the Greek Church and the Anglican—and the Greek Church, in the same attitude towards Anglicanism and Rome. He is still teaching what he taught—still trying to excuse himself to the world and his own conscience. Why *should* he be let alone when his principles tend to uproot all morality, and his theology all catholicity? Even as far back as 1841 he writes of the time when “we were separated from the Pope, *his authority* revealed to our Diocesans,” etc.—as if our Diocesans were ever legitimately the Pope’s vassals; or as if the Pope did not order his subjects to “separate” from us.

Dr. Newman thinks the English Roman Catholics of the present day greatly in debt to Pius IX. “for giving them a church,” but if they had none in that realm all these years, it was because another Pope, Pius V, excommunicated England’s Queen—an unrevoked papal decree, by the way,—and made his followers desert their Mother Church. It is because their foreign Superior, the Bishop of Rome, withdrew from communion with the bishops of England. One can comprehend how a single bishop or layman may cut himself off from the Body, but it becomes simply farcical, to pronounce the Anglican Church separated from the Church Catholic, merely for refusing to submit to the usurped authority of a foreign prelate. Dr. Newman may, on his private judgment, decide in favor of the Pope’s supremacy; but he must assume everything that needs proof, in order to put his private judgment against the teaching of Scripture and tradition.

And yet, because he is not, in substance, permitted to do this, he complains as if he had endured a grievous wrong! Either the man’s conceit is insufferable, or his simplicity painfully pitiable.

If Anglicanism be “Samaria,” and Rome “Jerusalem,” it would be well for the Doctor to remember, that the woman of Samaria drew living waters from the perpetual well that Jesus Christ opened in her heart, while Jerusalem was rased to the ground and utterly destroyed. Let him note the “signs of the times,” and strive to discern the meaning of the budding fig tree.

Another argument against Catholicism, and in favor of Triden-

tinism, he discovers, while studying the history of the Arian and Monophysitic heresies.

In 1832 "I saw my face in the mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The 'Church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental communion; 'Rome was where she now is, and the Protestants were the Eutychians." p. 156.

In 1841 "I had got but a little way in my work, when my trouble [of 1832] 'returned upon me. The ghost had come a second time. In the Arian 'heresy I found the very same phenomenon, in a far bolder shape, which I 'had found in the Monophysite. I had not observed it in 1832.\* Wonder-ful that this should come upon me! I had not sought it out; [?] I was 'reading and writing in my own line of study, far from the controversies of 'the day, on what is called a 'metaphysical' subject; but I saw clearly, that 'in the history of Arianism, the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-'Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what it was. The 'truth lay, not with the *Via Media*, but in what was called the 'extreme 'party.'" p. 179.

Can this be the result of honest delusion? Or is it trifling with truth?—or, perhaps, some of that "irony" that he was so fond of indulging with matter-of-fact men. If he be in earnest, Dr. Newman's heart must be very full of the "telescopic" religion of Rome; quite as much so as a good Baptist brother's was of "water," while arguing that the Israelites were immersed *into the will of Moses*, when they were baptized "in the cloud and in the sea." The eccentricity of the author is shown first in drawing his parallels, and afterwards, in dreaming that any one who was familiar with history, would imagine for an instant, that the Rome of to-day was the Rome of the third century.

Verbally, Eutychianism may be the one extreme; Monophysitism the middle, between that and Catholicity, of which Rome was in that day not the sole possessor.

Verbally, Arianism may be the one extreme, and semi-Arianism the middle, between that and the truth; of which Rome may, or may not have been, a very earnest defender, as she was by no means so prominent then as she is now.

But can it be that Dr. Newman has learned since his perversion, that theological truth is to be measured with a two-foot folding rule, and carpenter's square? Arianism, so many inches; semi-Arianism, so many inches; the truth, three feet? And yet he

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\* The same year in which he told Mgr. Wiseman he could not return on a second visit to Rome, for "We have a work to do in England."

proposes to wise men, to regard Anglican theology, which is Protestant, against the corruption of Doctrine by excess, quite as much as she is against its corruption by defect, as equivalent to semi-Arianism and Monophysitism.

Perhaps it were well for him to consider, that it is quite true that the Rome of to-day is as far from Anglo-Catholicism, as the Rome of the past was from semi-Arianism; only, because Anglicanism now is what Rome was then, and Rome now, the opposite of semi-Arianism then. The latter was heretical, in robbing the Deity of the Eternal Son of God; the former in introducing into the Godhead, as a new element, a deified woman. But in truth, the Papacy has assimilated nearly all the heresies of the past, making its own, that which the first Bishops of that See denounced as heresy. Certainly her doctrine of Transubstantiation is an application of the principles of pure and simple Eutychianism to the elements of the Eucharist, both heresies teaching a physical change in the substance of matter, that does not involve its accidents. Eutyches applied it to our Lord's Body—Rome, to the sacrament of His Body. Thus, Rome is now where Eutyches was; Anglicanism at the "extreme" of truth.

But eliminating all side-questions, and those, too, that depend on the main one. Dr. Newman would have us believe that the refusal of the Church of England to accept the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, is the equivalent of a denial of the Eternal Godhead of the Son—of the distinctness of the Divine and Human natures, in the One Person of our LORD—or of the non-absorption of the Humanity, into the Divinity, of the adorable Saviour.

Perhaps Honorius, some time Pope of Rome, has shielded us from the shame of being forced to add Monothelism to this strange list.

*We say distinctly that Dr. Newman and his co-religionists make the rejection of the Supremacy of their Bishop, the equivalent of the most fearful of the past and present developments of "destructive heresy."*—(αἰρέσεως ἀπωλείας.)

One can understand how one, misled by mere logomachy, might be deceived by such an expression as "*Via media.*" But, surely, so acute a scholar as the author of the *Apologia* ought to know, that heresy neither has, nor can have, a "middle path." The Church Catholic may be between heretics of excess, and heretics

of defect; but denial of THE FAITH can have no degrees. Nor can the Truth. Jesus Christ is God; or He is not. He cannot be semi-God. Either He is perfect God, and perfect man; or He is not. His Humanity cannot be absorbed; and leave Him semi-man—nor His Divinity be subjected to an infusion of creative weakness; and leave Him a modified God. Towards the Faith there is either Truth or Heresy; and there are no such “extremes” that can admit a middle. Arianism and semi-Arianism are simply different phases of the same heresy. Romanism and Eutychianism are simply different applications of the same heretical principle. It is only CATHOLICITY, the Faith once delivered by the Holy Ghost, and which can neither be increased nor diminished by human self-will, that abides the test of ALL TRUTH.

If Dr. Newman hopes, by skilfully arranged *Apologia* to draw Anglicans, with their eyes open, to the fond belief that, Rome now is what she was in the time of St. Paul, St. Clement, or even St. Leo, we have only to remind him of the days of lang syne, when “these people would not let him alone,” until they drove him to conform his teaching to the standard he once swore, on the holy sacrament, to adopt, or to cease to teach at all as an Anglican and a Catholic.

We need only “refer to those earlier writers” who instructed the Church, while Rome was yet in the obscurity in which she remained for more than 300 years, to prove irrefragably that our Catholicity is neither “magnified,” nor in need of “telescopic” aid to adjust its proportions. It is the same with that of the “most pure and uncorrupt” days, and, therefore, is neither “faint” nor “pale;” because, now, we always follow the same course that Athanasius and the Nicene Fathers took, in dealing with Arius. We do like them, in dealing with the heresies of Pope Pius, or John Henry Newman, or any other heresiarch, or form of heresy. Will any Tridentinist abide by that test? So far from it, does not Dr. Newman almost adopt the theory of rationalists, and make common cause with them, in accounting the Ante-Nicene view of the Divinity of our Lord, as different from the definitions of Nice?

One cannot but pity the rude shock that must attend the awakening of honest men, to the full meaning of what they have done, after they have yielded to the non-Catholic absolutism, that sits enthroned on the seven hills. They cannot sing the songs of

Zion under the willows of Babylon, for they are songs of home, and not for the stranger land; but they cannot drive away the memory of them, that haunts them still in low and interrupted murmurs. They can only watch their unused harps that sway and swing, and sigh to the breeze, as it touches the string with its unseen finger.

Their hearts can never untie the cords that bind them to altars as old as the faith which they preach, which glow with the fire of a sanctified service, and are wreathed with the incense of wholesome devoutness, and are sacred with prayers of new saints and old, whose work is now done, and themselves are resting and waiting, in joy and felicity, saith the Lord. They have bartered for the Christ, the crucifix, and for the Mediator, Mary. Henceforth, their worship must point to the contents of the chalice, as if God were within the ring of its rim.

Come back, weary wanderers, to your mother's love! worship the God of your English Bible; and then, when your tumults are ended, the work of your life is done, and all your unrest is stilled forever, that mother will sing you her lullaby, the same that she said when she laid down to rest, Butler and Bull, Hooker and Heber, Keble and Longley, and Sumner. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for THEY REST."

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#### ART. IX.—THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE.

*The Conservative Reformation and its Theology, as represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Lutheran Church.* By Charles P. Krauth, D. D., Norton Professor of Theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, and Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1871.

*The Doctrine of the Church. A Historical Monograph, with a full Bibliography of the subject.* By John J. McElhinney, D. D., Milnor Professor of Systematic Divinity, in the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio. Philadelphia. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1871.



THE style of Dr. Krauth's book excites more surprise than even its singular and original positions. Our author has departed from the simplicity and sincerity which usually mark the ripe German scholar, and sought to make Theology and History attractive by the sophomoric arts of the popular lecturer. The materials of his work seem drawn from a promiscuous mass of sermons, articles, and other discourses, and are thrown together without system, and yet with a studied view to effect, forming altogether a species of composite style in rhetoric which we can neither admire nor commend. Yet the matter of the book is more remarkable than its mode, and will sharpen more criticism, and arouse more opposition.

Before approaching Dr. Krauth's views of the "Conservative Reformation," we will acknowledge our admiration for its great central figure. Martin Luther, as a human agent, was, in our estimation, the saviour of Christendom. Notwithstanding his frequent coarseness, and disgusting vituperation; his deep inner experiences, his powerful grasp of doctrine, his comprehensive learning, his heroic faith and courage, his burning eloquence, his influence over people, scholars, and kings, command our profound admiration, and show him the elect instrument of Heaven in giving to the world a new era of liberty, and to the church of emancipation.

But the question remains, do the gifts and successes of Martin Luther constitute a sufficient foundation for the Catholic Church? While Dr. Krauth continually exalts the Scriptures as the only Rule of Faith, he seems to place the great Reformer of the sixteenth century before the Divine Founder of the first. He talks more of Melancthon and his associates than of the Apostles themselves, and in the halo with which he surrounds the Confession of Augsburg, and the Formula of Concordat, absolutely obscures the glory of the venerable creeds of a united Christendom.

The following remarkable extract will evince the spirit of the entire book.

"The Festival of the Reformation is at once a day of Christmas, and of Easter, and of Pentecost, in our Church year: a day of birth, a day of resurrection, a day of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. Let its return renew that life, and make our Church press on with fresh vigor in the steps of her risen Lord, as one begotten again, and born from the dead by the quickening power of the Spirit of her God. LET EVERY DAY BE A FESTIVAL OF THE REFORMATION, AND EVERY YEAR A JUBILEE."

Thus the commemorations of Lutheranism are to be substituted for the observances of the Catholic Church.

But the aim of our author appears even more evident from his preface, and the amusing contempt with which he treats the Protestant sects. He would plainly make Lutheranism the Church of Christendom. He says :

"A true unity in Protestantism would be the death of Popery ; but Popery will live until those who assail it are one in their answer to the question, What shall take its place? This book is a statement, and a defence of the answer given to that question by the COMMUNION UNDER WHOSE BANNER THE BATTLE WITH ROME WAS FOUGHT; UNDER WHOSE LEADERS THE GREATEST VICTORIES OVER ROME WERE WON. If this Church has been a failure, it can hardly be claimed that the Reformation was a success, and if Protestantism cannot come to harmony with the principles by which it was created, as those principles were understood by the greatest masters of the reformatory work, it must remain divided until division reaches its natural end—absorption and annihilation."

The import of these words will be more clearly understood when it is remembered that Dr. Krauth has already set aside the apostolic claims of Anglicanism, and pronounced that it must either change its form, or pass "through cycle after cycle of disintegration toward ruin." Having placed the Lutheranism of the reformation on the broad pedestal of the Catholic Church, it is not strange that our author isolates his Communion from the rest of Christendom, and indulges in language which must be peculiarly grateful to his former brethren among the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Methodists, the Baptists, of our divided country. Archbishop Laud, or Dr. Littledale, could scarcely speak in terms of more bitter sarcasm, or withering contempt, than this High Church disciple of the Monk of Wittenberg.

"The insect-minded sectarian allows the Reformation very little merit except as it prepared the way for the putting forth, in due time, of the particular twig of Protestantism on which he crawls, and which he imagines bears all the fruit, and gives all the value to the tree. As the little green tenants of the rose-bush might be supposed to argue that the rose was made for the purpose of furnishing them a home and food, so these small speculators find the root of the Reformation in the particular part of Providence which they consent to adopt or patronize. The Reformation, as they take it, originated in the Divine plan of furnishing a nursery for Sectarian Aphides."

Marvellous! We imagine that Professor Krauth was in the habit of exciting the applause of his theological pupils by these sharp

and pretty words, and that his weakness for the ornamental in style has betrayed him into the imprudence of flinging them before a less appreciative and more discriminating audience, without reflecting that they doom him and his disciples to cold, and dreary, and perpetual separation from their former brethren. Luther excommunicating Calvin! Wittenberg casting out Geneva! A Communion springing from the Reformation, branding as Sectarials all other Protestants!

After studying carefully the book of Dr. Krauth, we have failed to perceive the slightest foundation for these high, and exclusive, and unexpected claims of Lutheranism. They seem to rest wholly on the genius and success of the mighty German monk, and to be only stronger than those of Calvin or Wesley, in as far as his work was prior to theirs in time, and superior in effect. They seem to depend wholly on a human title and merit. They seem a mere contest of pre-eminence between one man and another.

Indeed, in the only thing distinguishing Lutherans from other Protestants, rejecting the Apostolic Order of the Church, the truth appears to us decidedly with the latter. After all the explanations of Dr. Krauth, we cannot reconcile his views of the Communion with the Holy Scriptures, the Primitive Fathers, or common sense. He plainly ascribes to the body of our Lord a ubiquity derived from His Divinity, and makes its presence as such an essential to the Sacrament. From this flow logically eucharistic adoration, and all the worst superstitions of Rome. We will quote the language of our author, and then proceed to point out the error underlying his entire work.

"Grant, then, that this infinite Spirit has taken to itself a human nature, as an inseparable element of its person, the result is inevitable. Where the Divine is, the human must be. The primary and very lowest element of a personal union is the co-presence of the parts. To say that the Divine nature of Christ is personally present without His humanity is to deny that this humanity is a part of that personality; and the doctrine of the incarnation falls to the dust! Christ becomes no more than the organ of a special revelation of Deity; His humanity is no more properly one person with God than the burning bush was one person with Jehovah."

If this dogma constitutes the characteristic glory of Lutheranism, and is the treasure it must guard, and the heritage it is to transmit, just in so far we sympathize with the Protestantism it denounces with such a superciliousness of contempt.

Now, excepting its dangerous errors touching the Holy Communion, we have no doctrinal quarrel with the new Wittenberg sect. Its exclusive claims to Catholicity do not deserve our notice. They can only excite a tear, or a smile. Our own doctrinal system could be constructed from the writings of the orthodox Protestant Divines. Nothing can be found in our Liturgy, or our Articles which has not been maintained by some of their number. Indeed, our Prayer Book is simply the most comprehensive exposition of Holy Scripture ever made in the light of all that had been written in the Church, and is at this hour the best expression of the common Faith of Protestant Christendom ever yet produced. As a mere *doctrinal basis*, it furnishes to the world the most assured hope of its future Catholic unity. In regard to the essential truths of our Holy Religion, we will therefore make no issue with Lutheranism, or with any Protestant Denomination. We believe the fundamental error of Dr. Krauth, sprang from the fact that he wholly ignores the Apostolic Order of the Church. Indeed he scarcely alludes to the question of Ecclesiastical Constitution. The consequence is, that his communion begins with Luther as its founder. It extols the genius of Luther. It magnifies the work of Luther. It revolves about the career of Luther. It takes the very name of Luther. This is inevitable in every system which departs from the Primitive constitution of the one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. It must trace itself to fallible man as its author, instead of our Divine Lord. The human element therefore predominates. The authority of God is lost. The mark of earth is substituted for the impress of Heaven. Hence we have Lutheranism, Calvinism, Wesleyanism, instead of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Now if we wish to correct such an error, and avoid such a result, we may turn to the other volume whose title is placed before this article. The contrast between the work of the Ohio, and the work of the Pennsylvania Professor is most striking. Where the latter is jejune, rhetorical, partizan, pretentious and immethodical, the former is pure in style, simple in statement, candid in deduction, modest in attempt, and complete in arrangement. The ripeness and richness of Dr. McElhinney's Book bring credit to the learning of our country, and lend dignity to the claim and cause of our Church.

Waiving, however, all particular merits of authorship, we ask, if, in presenting Lutheranism as the true Catholic Communion which should draw to itself all the sects of Christendom, Dr. Krauth is authorized to omit all allusion to Ecclesiastical Constitution? In answering this question, we must refer to the facts of Scripture, and the example of Apostles. Had the Continental Reformers of the Sixteenth Century pursued this course, their descendants of the Nineteenth Century would have possessed better title to Catholicity. The great movement, however, which they originated, and represented, related wholly to doctrine, and to experience. Luther was suddenly awakened by the Holy Ghost to see the truths of the Bible. They penetrated his inmost being. They were like fire in his soul. They stirred a mighty nature into flame. With the doctrine of Justification by Faith the Wittenberg Monk moved nations, aroused princes, and shook the Papacy to its foundations. Perhaps had Bishops participated in the reform, they would have conserved their Episcopal powers. As it was, Luther, and Calvin, in their zeal for substance overlooked form, and departed from the apostolic usages of centuries, and prepared the way for our modern Sectisms, while the Anglican Reformers, equally desirous for purity of doctrine, and piety of life, preserved the historic continuity of the English Church, and remained in the old succession, so that we their representatives, after three centuries are enabled to plead before the world both our Faith, and our Order in vindication of our claim to Catholicity. In other words we believe that the Church of the Future is the Church of the Past. It is no new creation. It is not the work of Martin Luther. It does not commence with the Reformation. It is a continuity, a unity, a development. There is no chasm of revolution separating it in Faith, or in Form, from its primitive and perfect type. For its Creed it passes through the great Councils to the Scriptures. For its constitution, it passes through the Apostles to Jesus Christ. For its worship, it passes through the history of Christendom, and gathers all the treasures of devotion from every age, and preserves the very words in which the children of God have approached their Father in confession and supplication, and thanksgiving and praise, through the grace of our Incarnate Lord, and by the power of the Holy Ghost.

We will here, therefore, present some considerations which Dr. Krauth in his singular book has entirely overlooked.

The Apostles themselves were certainly not indifferent to the inferior questions of order. After the ascension of our Lord, in prayer for the Holy Ghost, just before the fire, and storm, and power of Pentecost, they prepared to fill the place made vacant by the treachery of Judas. Having received the Baptism from Heaven we may well believe that in the zeal, and love with which they preached a crucified, a risen, a glorified Saviour to Jew and Gentile, details of government were not scrupulously observed. Deacons were chosen and ordained before Presbyters, while the latter were often styled Bishops. Still, James presiding over the first Council at Jerusalem had a precedence only satisfactorily explained by the historic fact that he possessed the Episcopate of the Holy City. While the Apostles lived they had evidently a, peculiar and authoritative oversight, and towards the close of their career they undeniably brought the ecclesiastical government to a more established condition. The prerogatives of Timothy and Titus were certainly Episcopal, and the Angels of the seven Churches in the Revelation were admittedly Bishops. Yet it must be conceded that in the New Testament there is no absolute injunction on the subject of external constitution. Nothing is there fixed, and commanded as in the Mosaic Records. There is a certain noble flexibility, and generous forgetfulness to remind us that eternal truth is above temporary form, and that the universal salvation, unlike the Jewish dispensation, was designed not for a particular nation but for the whole world. But notwithstanding this concession, it seems plain, especially in the latter Epistles, that we find in the Scriptures the *substance* of an episcopal government, so that the germs there appearing, necessarily developed into their subsequent form. The argument, however, assumes its completeness, when to the statements of the Bible we add the simple testimony of Clement, a contemporary of St. Paul; the lists of Eusebius tracing their successions in the great Christian centres to the very period of the Apostles; the more general, and fragmentary hints of nearly every ante-Nicene father, and especially the affirmation of Jerome that the power of ordination had from the beginning resided in the Bishops. We do not now desire to review an argument so often controverted. Again and again have we examined

the various links in the chain of proof, and against every prejudice of opinion, and education been constrained to admit, as a demonstrated fact, that the Apostles established the Church with that Episcopal Constitution which it preserved unbroken through fifteen centuries until the time of the Reformation. We have no doubt that Luther and Calvin conceded the truth of this same opinion. Dr. Krauth would, perhaps, be harder to convince. Our purpose in the remainder of this Article is not to disturb his views, or interrupt his pleasing dreams of the Catholicity of Lutheranism, or divert ourselves with his strange contempt for Protestant sectism, but to show some of our own restless people how much is involved in the very moderate views of Episcopacy we have already expressed.

Let us admit that in the New Testament as in the Old no particular form of Church government is specially enjoined. Let us admit that in the Acts, and the Epistles designation of office, and questions of order are intentionally left in an unsatisfying uncertainty. Let us admit that our Episcopacy rests solely on Scriptural inference, and Apostolic example.

Now to what are we led by such a conclusion? Who were the men consecrating Bishops in the commanding centres of the ancient world? At what time and with what experiences and under what circumstances did they adopt such measures? We will endeavor to answer these questions.

How far the Apostles were influenced by a desire to imitate the Mosaic constitution is an inquiry of inferior importance. They had been the companions and witnesses of their Lord. They had been promised a special inspiration for all the purposes of their mission. They had received all the illuminations of the Baptism of Pentecost. They had observed the inevitable consequences of an unsettled ecclesiastical government. After the experiences of many years, in the ripeness of age, having planted the Gospel in every part of the world, with the future of the Church for all time stretching before their vision, and the shadows of eternity resting on their heads, they agree to make a universal law that the power of ordaining Presbyters, and Deacons shall be vested in Bishops. Is it conceivable that in a matter of such infinite moment they acted without a Divine direction? Did the Holy Ghost assist them in every word spoken during years in private assemblies,



or recorded in the Scriptures, and shape, and guide their acts until the close of their lives, and then in the mature wisdom of age, desert them and leave them, in a matter so important as the ordering of the Catholic Church for all time, to their own human weakness and ignorance? Could Almighty God thus abandon to mere men a cause dear to Him as the Blood of His own Son, and affecting forever that eternal kingdom of glory whose centre and circumference are our exalted Lord? Impossible! we cannot resist the inference that the Apostles established an Episcopal order under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, and that it comes to us recommended not only by the example of the inspired servants, but by the will of the infallible Master.

But the arrangements of God are not arbitrary. There is always a deep wisdom in His plans which it is our privilege to examine, and admire, and imitate. We may therefore properly seek a reason for our Episcopal Constitution. Nor need we go far to find it. There is scarcely a Presbyterian district in the world which does not have some godly and venerable minister who is an acknowledged centre of strength, and whose counsels, and encouragements are felt to be necessary to the extension, compactness, and success of Christian work. This very circumstance demonstrates the need of certain oversight. It shows a want in human nature. Now the Apostles discerned this fact. They therefore adapted the arrangement of the Church to the constitution of man, and met a common need by a universal law, and anticipated the future, and for a self-assumed power, substituted an authoritative government, and by their example, under the Holy Ghost, gave a permanent form in our Episcopal Order. Their wisdom was seen in the fact that Christianity under the very oversight they established was pushed forward to its swiftest, and widest, and noblest triumphs, and enjoyed over the entire world for centuries an organized unity. The Continental Reformers in the sixteenth century departed from the Apostolic method. They supposed that mere uniformity of Creed would preserve coherence in the Church. Experience has demonstrated their mistake. The world is now filled with warring sects.\* To these belong the Lutheranism of

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\* This term is not used with any of Dr. Krauth's High-Lutheran contempt for that Orthodox Protestantism whose piety and learning and labors command our respect and admiration.

Dr. Krauth with all its high pretensions. If we would have Catholic Unity, we must restore Apostolic Order.

And here we find our own peculiar mission as a Church. Our Creed we share with numerous Protestant bodies. Our Order is virtually identical with that of the Greek and Latin Communions. Our work between them is to give Christendom—Unity.

This too explains our singular embarrassments. On the one hand are men who are not rooted in their convictions of our Episcopal Constitution. They are attached to us simply from the love of our Liturgy, or the respectability of our position. If strong in their belief touching our Apostolic Order, no questions relating to changes in our offices would drive them from our midst. By a rebellious violence, as lately in Chicago, or by a respectful secession as more recently in New York, they are relapsing into that Congregationalism in which is their real confidence. The process is inevitable, and will continue; nor can it be prevented, or retarded by any conceivable concession, or compromise. Change for the sake of principle, if desirable, is right and healthful. But change merely for expediency only prepares for fresh demands, and leads to increased difficulties. Our dangers, however, in this direction are not great, because the diseased body will always relieve itself of that which really never was connected vitally with its organization.

In the other direction we perceive a graver and a deeper peril.

There are those in our midst who are only prevented from secession to Rome by their recoil from Papal Infallibility. A difference of race and language prevents them from seeking refuge in the Eastern Church. Yet they hold the doctrine of justification in Baptism by an infused righteousness, and adore a supposed presence of our Lord upon the altar. Some of their number practice auricular confession, and invoke the saints. Their books of doctrine and manuals of devotion are scattered over our country, and everywhere diffuse their poison among the young, the enthusiastic, and the unsuspecting. The writer of this Article records what he has heard and seen. He speaks from his own direct knowledge. Now, perhaps, for the last time, he lifts his voice in warning protest against hidden evils which may yet taint the very life of our Communion. That man deceives himself who is not convinced that beneath the externals of Ritualism, and far beyond the immediate circle of its influence, there are errors which carry with them all

that blinds and deludes, and destroys under the shadow of the Papacy itself.

It is therefore vain to deny that the Church of the Future is not now passing a crisis in its history. Formidable difficulties lie in our path which no single General Convention can ever possibly overcome.

We have certain obvious and pressing needs; yet if all these were met the problems of the hour are not solved. Perhaps, however, it may not be presumptuous to enumerate some of our wants before urging the considerations which are to close this Article.

I. There is an absolute and instant necessity for a General Appellate Court which shall give to our various Dioceses one universal Law.

II. We want such a revision of our rubrics as will make them intelligible and consistent, so that our worship can be uniform, and transgressors be left without excuse.

III. It may well be considered whether Church Schools, Colleges, Seminaries, Periodicals, and all voluntary organizations should not have, by triennial report, or otherwise, some ascertained responsibility to the General Convention.

IV. Should not the right of petition be so recognized that all representations, from whatever quarter, when suitably expressed and presented, should receive a respectful attention?

V. Permanent committees on Internal and External Unity, might sit from year to year for the purpose of devising large plans to promote peace within and harmony without.

But we will suppose our General Convention, endued with the largest wisdom to meet the issues of the hour; that warring extremists have fought themselves from our pale, or exhausted their violence; that true men of differing views have agreed to work together in harmony; that ordinal, and office, and canon, have been so modified as to make the satisfaction universal; and that all measures have been adopted to evoke our activities, and extend our triumphs over our country and our world. Let every ideal of compromise and adjustment be realized, and the machinery of the Church be perfectly prepared to accomplish its purposes. Will success necessarily follow? Shall we then have permanent peace? After our policy is exhausted, will we certainly be equipped to grapple with the questions of the age, and rebuke its sins, and save the souls of men, and make universal the kingdom of our Lord? The true answer to these questions lies far deeper, than we are led

by our paltry discussions about forms, and postures, and vestments, and dogmas, and expedients.

We must learn to vindicate our title to Apostolic Order more by our works than by our arguments, before we ever greatly mould this generation. Our piety will speak louder than our boasts. This practical age will measure our claims rather by our fruits, than by our logic. Eternal truth is superior to all temporary forms. Order and Sacraments are not Salvation. We indeed believe that we have the apostolic, normal, regular ecclesiastical constitution. But is it not plain that the Holy Ghost does not restrict himself to our own peculiar channels? Where men beyond the succession, and who have never felt episcopal hands, sincerely mistake questions of order, and retain their faith, and preach the truth, and obey the Scriptures, and give themselves to prayer, and practice good works, and receive honestly their own sacraments, and bestow their substance, and devote their bodies and souls to Jesus Christ, nothing is more evident than that Almighty God overlooks the error, and pities the infirmity, and bestows His grace, and grants the blessings of His favor here, and rewards with His Eternal Glory hereafter. Our own privilege is indeed great. We are the chosen guardians of the Apostolic Institution. To us are committed by Heaven both the Faith, and the Order of the Holy Catholic Church. But if the honor is great so is the responsibility. Meekness, zeal, activity, love in irregular bodies will be more acceptable than coldness, and disdain, and pride, and strife in our own apostolic organization. Let us then attest our superior claim before earth and heaven, not by our words, but by our works; not by insisting on our primitive constitution, but by imitating the primitive piety; not by arguments in behalf of our order, but by examples to prove our Faith. We amuse and deceive ourselves if we suppose we can in any other way secure the triumphs of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

The cure for our evils is not in any of the policies of the hour, however proper in their place. It is far deeper, and more difficult. Let us ask ourselves:

1. Do we faithfully preach the Gospel? Do we search the consciences of our people? Do we rebuke their sins? Do we move them to penitence, and confession, and restitution? Do we point them through faith to Jesus Christ as a justifying, sanctifying,

present, full and perfect Saviour? Do we insist that they must be born of the Holy Ghost? Do we unfold to them the joyous privileges of their sonship as children of God? Do we press them to surrender their bodies, and souls, and estates in living sacrifice to Jesus Christ, and to make His Kingdom first in their hearts, and lives and efforts? Do we urge them to good works by arguments drawn from duty and love, and show them that evangelical obedience is the only test of evangelical piety? Here is something far more important than newspaper discussions, or ecclesiastical legislations.

II. Do we enforce the discipline of the Church? Do we repel the unworthy from the Holy Communion? Do we rise superior to all pecuniary interests, and private preferences, and personal indulgences, and resolutely, yet wisely and tenderly, apply to our people the acknowledged rule of Scripture? Do we, briefly, according to our power guard Christ's Holy Church from worldly contamination? Perhaps eternity will disclose that here is our most signal failure.

III. Do we comply with the demand to make the proclamation of the Gospel universal? The injunction of our Saviour embraces the world. We are to regard His kingdom at home and abroad. Where we withdraw from others we take from ourselves. Illiberality to the heathen brings starvation to our own people. Our fountains only flow freely when their streams are widely dispersed. Yet how our missionary interests languish! Both our foreign and our domestic treasures are under a cloud of debt! The world around is perishing, and we expending our money on ourselves and rending our Holy mother with disputes about trifles!

IV. Do we loyally conform to the laws and ways of our own chosen Church? If we do not imbibe her spirit we cannot be successful in her pale. She has bound up her wisdom in her Prayer Book. Her Liturgy and her Articles are the guides we have vowed to adopt. She does not set the baptism by water against the regeneration of the Holy Ghost. She does not array justification by faith against grace in the Eucharist. She does not place the experience of the heart against the obedience of the life. She presumes her children may believe her Articles, and observe her Liturgy. What she has joined, we sever. The doctrines of grace are in perfect harmony with the calendar of the Church. Because we esteem Holy Days it is not to be inferred that we do not believe

in salvation through that faith in our atoning Redeemer which purifies the heart, and beautifies the life, and prepares for the heavenly glory. No type of Christian character is more pure, and harmonious, and lofty than that arising from a faithful, loving, filial obedience to our Holy Church.

It is with sadness we write these words since they remind us that our editorial connection with this Review will cease wholly with this volume, and practically with this article. The past four years have enabled us at this metropolitan centre to study in men, and through the press, the Church and the age with some peculiar advantages. The lessons learned have been at once painful and encouraging. We have less confidence in man, but, we trust, more faith in God. If the perils of the Church are more perceptible, her privileges are also more appreciated. She will survive every shock. In England and in America she is preparing through struggle for triumph. The mother and the daughter will yet be arrayed in their garments of beauty, and wear the crown of holiness. We have not only the Catholic faith, and the Catholic order but the Catholic language, and thus possess a pledge, wanting to the Lutheranism vaunted by Dr. Krauth, and to the Greek and Latin Communions, of Catholic victory. Are we the Church of the Past? Let us also prove ourselves, not so much by argument as by faith, and love, and works, to be the Church of the Present. Pre-eminent here, we will establish our claim to be the Church of the Future and restore the Unity of Christendom.

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## OUR BOOK TABLE.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.\*

Perhaps no literary man has ever enjoyed a popularity so universal as Sir Walter Scott. Nor is there any diminution in the charm of his writings, and the fascination of his name. Pilgrimages to Abbotsford will most probably continue during ages, and that singular but costly, and attractive pile be cherished by future millions as a fitting monument of the genius by which it was con-

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\* Sir Walter Scott. *The Story of his Life.* By R. Shelton Mackenzie. Boston. James R. Osgood & Co., 1871.

ceived. Nor did the wizard of the north compel fame only by his wand. Gold came at its bidding. Few authors have ever converted ink into such vast sums of money. Yet Sir Walter Scott never produced a single work which touched the deepest nature of man. We trace to him none of those inventions or discoveries, or suggestions which add to the material greatness of nations, and impress profoundly their future and extend the sway of intellect over nature. He never aimed beyond pleasing his fellow-beings. He lived in a world of fiction, and painted scenes from fancy, and created characters which appear and vanish like the shadows of the clouds, or the shapes of dreams. And just here was his power. His sphere was never beyond the range of ordinary faculties. He could be appreciated by the multitude. He had therefore the largest possible audience, and the largest possible returns. Perhaps no man for these reasons ever became so widely the companion of the world in all its races, and ranks, and tongues. We see clearly in this excellent volume of Mr. Mackenzie the secret of the wizard's power. He was an inimitable and unrivalled story-teller. Even in his youth his singular gift was constantly asserting itself, and his stories lent charm to his companionship. Unconsciously to himself in highland, or lowland, in city, or country, amid gipsies, or princes, in fields, or libraries, by sea, or land, he was accumulating materials for his stories. His most popular Poems are fascinating as stories. They are usually destitute of the ordinary charms of verse. Sir Walter's ear was defective, his taste often at fault, his composition hasty, rapid and mechanical, so that a critic was always necessary to correct his most obvious blunders. What Poem more deservedly a favorite than the "Lady of the Lake?" Yet how bald and common-place the opening line.

"The Stag at eve had drunk his fill."

But the interest of the story atones for everything. Plot, and character and description make you overlook rhythm, and metre, and music. It was a relief to the world, and Sir Walter himself, when he exchanged the Poem for the Novel. Here he found his true sphere, and an untrammelled field for his genius, where perhaps he will never have his fame seriously contested by any future rival. His fecundity is the marvel of Literature, and his recent Centennial shows the world is not weary of paying homage to a man who has increased so largely, and so purely the pleasures of his race. The broad,



genial, generous, noble nature of Sir Walter, and his chivalrous sacrifice of himself on the altar of duty and of honor, have also very much contributed to increase and perpetuate his fame.

Mr. Mackenzie has done good service to Literature by his judicious and timely Memoir. His heart is in his work. Lockhart's volumes are fascinating to the cultivated few, but tedious to the restless many. An abridgement was necessary. Mr. Mackenzie has executed his task not elegantly, but well, and produced nearly the right book at exactly the right time.

A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE AND BRITISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS, LIVING AND DECEASED. From the earliest accounts to the latter half of the Nineteenth Century. Containing over forty-three thousand articles (Authors). With forty Indexes of Subjects. By S. Austin Allibone. Vol. II. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870. Super-royal octavo, pp. 1321.

The First Volume of this great work appeared twelve years ago, or in 1859. It was published by Messrs. Childs & Peterson. This was just before the commencement of our late war. The disturbed financial condition of the country, it seems, has only delayed the publication of the two remaining volumes, one of which is already before us; the names and character of the publishers are sufficient guarantee that the whole work will soon be given to the public. We can hardly speak too commendingly of this Critical Dictionary of English and American Literateurs and Authors. Our editorial labors lead us to refer to works of this class constantly, and we do not hesitate to say that we know of no publication which approaches this in its adaptedness to the wants of the scholar. A marked and valuable feature of this work, is, that, besides being a Biography of Authors including nearly all the most distinguished writers, it contains "a careful record of the opinions of great men upon great men." Indeed, it comprises the very cream of the best Reviews and Biographies in their criticisms of the most popular English and American Authors. The work must be successful, as it deserves to be to the publishers, who have risked so much in it, because it is one which well-informed people cannot afford to do without.

**WOMAN'S RECORD:** or Sketches of all Distinguished Women, from Creation to A. D. 1868. Arranged in four eras, with selections from authoresses of each era. By Mrs. Hale, authoress of "North-wood," "The Vigil of Love," etc., etc. Illustrated by two hundred and thirty portraits, engraved on wood by Lossing & Barrett. Third Edition, revised, with additions. New York, Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1870.

The plan of this work is comprehensive, and its object most commendable. Both in style and argument, the general preface itself is sufficient to secure a favorable reception for the entire volume. Mrs. Hale treats an old subject with remarkable originality and vigor, and expresses her thoughts in a manner which continually recalls the peculiar genius of Hannah Moore. We shall expect the revised and enlarged edition of her work with great interest, and do not doubt that it will be equal to all that is promised by her past success and literary reputation.

**A GERMAN READER:** to succeed the German Course. By George F. Comfort, A. M., Professor of Modern Languages and Æsthetics in Alleghany College, Meadville, Pa., and author of "A German Course." New York. Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1871.

Here is another book of learning about another of the great Teutonic languages, and with some novel and commendable features to it. A knowledge of the German language is becoming a necessity to many professions now that Germany has invaded America with its peaceable armies of peasants and mechanics, winning wealth out of almost every industry and making the German tongue familiar to all public and private places. The number of German text books for American learners proves the point. Mr. Comfort is a man already favorably known to the public for his labors in this direction. This "Reader" has these advantages, that while leaving out all German immoralities and irreligions, its selections are not only from the best, but the more modern representative writers, who touch upon and teach German history, art, geography and science and give much valuable general information of the fatherland. The old names like Lessing and Goethe and Schiller, (the last two sparingly given us perhaps) are here, and also the new

names of successful aspirants after German literary honors. Copious notes and a vocabulary add to the value of this compendium.

**HYMNS AND POEMS FOR THE SICK AND SUFFERING**, Edited by Thomas Vincent Fosbery, M.A., Vicar of St. Giles, Reading. New York. E. P. Dutton and Company. London, Oxford & Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1870, (Eighth Edition).

The aim of this book is clearly marked by its title. Under diverse sentences from the Offices of the Church of England for the sick, some pious hymn of some sweet singer of the Church, in harmony with the sentiment of the sentence, has been set, for the perusal and solace of the suffering. There are 226 separate pieces. Of this number 93 are by authors who lived prior to the Eighteenth Century: the rest are modern. Herbert and Vaughn are names that frequently appear, and the author has gathered his poems from very diverse quarters. In general these selections are judicious and full of a high-toned spirituality. A preface on sickness and its uses, full of wise and practical thought, adds value: and a generous style of publishing makes this an attractive book to the persons for whom it was especially designed. The fact that this is the eighth edition shows how it has been received by the public.

**A HANDBOOK FOR LEGENDARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL ART.** By Clara Erskine Clement. Author of *A Simple Story of the Orient*. With descriptive illustrations. New York; Published by Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge, Riverside Press. 1871.

Here is a book which we commend to the great public, as though each one was our personal friend, for speedy purchase; having no doubt but that each buyer will thank us for the suggestion. We know nothing of Mrs. Clement except what she tells us in a very womanly way in her preface: but we do know with a truly satisfying pleasure that this book of her's is the best of its kind we have ever seen. Without doubt if a man should buy Mrs. Jameson's works and a small library of others like them, he would have a more complete basis for his art-studies in legendary and mythological lore; but if he wants one modest book at a moderate price, which is a mine of information skillfully arranged for his use, he should buy this volume. Every moderate-sized library should have

it. The illustrations are profuse and exact, and the reading in many places simply charming. If any man doubts the last assertion let him read anywhere in the section entitled "Legends of Place." Here is a rare book. The Riverside Press has helped make it so, and at the same time has not forgotten to display its ancient beauty and supremacy as the Aldine Press of America.

CHIPS FROM A GERMAN WORKSHOP. By F. Max Muller & Co. Vol. III. Essays of Literature, Biography and Antiquity. New York. Charles Scribner & Company, 1871.

Chips may be either from bricks or diamonds. Max Muller's chips are all jewels, full of gleam, sunshine and wonders. The more we look at the originals from whence they are struck, our wonder and our reverence put themselves in action, and if a workman is known from his chips, we confess that Max is a great artificer. As all the student-world knows, Max Muller in his English home has wrought very famously among the roots and riches of ancient lore, and is second to no man in his philological and historical studies. This III Volume of Chips is a book of very varied information; ranging from the ancient folk songs of Germany and the Jews of Cornwall down to Bunsen's letters to our author, and modern German literature. To Max's old friends we only need to say that this last work is worthy of him, and to those who have never made his acquaintance, that his is a rare mind, a most cunning craft and the ripest scholarship of almost any.

-TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York, and accompanying documents for 1870. To which is appended the papers and proceedings of the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 12-18, 1870. Albany, 1871.

Our Lord makes the visitation of those in prison a crucial point in His scheme for the commendation and condemnation of men; yet, to our shame, there stands the fact that the prisoner is one of the last beings thought of to-day by the mass of those who call themselves disciples of the Lord. Men incline to turn over the criminal, or *quasi* criminal to judges and lawyers, and even politicians; and when the reports of Prison Associations are presented

turn from the volume as so much lumber. And yet, whatever may be the general apathy of the Christian public, (if this be not a contradiction) towards criminals, this volume under consideration is one that possesses abundant interest. It shows that there are at least some who habitually remember those in bonds as bound with them, and who are engaged in wise, systematic and comprehensive plans for the improvement of everything connected with the penitentiary and jail. It is surprising, indeed, to see how much a few earnest men can do, and what beneficent results may be accomplished under the inspiration of a well-directed zeal.

The volume before us tells many a pathetic story, and gives many a narrative which invests the outcasts of society with interest and lively hope. The convention held in Ohio last autumn was clearly productive of much good, as the discussions in this portly volume testify. This report should be diligently studied by philanthropists.

**MEMOIR OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF REV. LEWIS WARNER GREENE, D.D.** With a selection from his Sermons. By Le Roy J. Halsey, D.D. New York. Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

This memoir is brief, and mainly of interest to the friends of the excellent man whose life-story it tells. There was nothing sufficiently exceptional or pointed in his experience to require discussion in the pages of a Review. The book is published on the ground that "our great and good men, especially at the west, live, labor, die, and are too soon forgotten." No doubt it is wise to keep the memory of good men fresh, especially where that memory is a source of inspiration to the friends of the departed. They will read the story with interest and profit, and at the same time linger over the discourses, to some of which, no doubt, they listened at the original delivery. Dr. Greene was a devout Christian scholar, and, as his writings evince, a man of decided ability; and non-episcopalian as he was, we should not feel that we are appointed to an altogether unwelcome task when called to introduce to churchmen these honorable records of a good man's life.

**THE MUTINEERS OF THE BOUNTY AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, IN PITCAIRN AND NORFOLK ISLANDS.** By Lady Belcher. With Map and Illustrations. New York. Harper & Bros. 1871.

The romantic story of the Bounty and Pitcairn is one that will never lose its charm, elevating itself as it does high among the readings of boyhood, and the more philosophical reflections of manhood. Two score years have passed away since the story was first told in the "Family Library," and yet it is just as welcome and fresh as ever; especially as Lady Belcher has illustrated it with additional light taken from the original source. Much will be found on this subject, in that charming book entitled "The Island Mission," which gives the record of Bishop Selwyn's Melanesian work; but here we have the history brought down even later, to the close of 1869.

To go over the history of Pitcairn would be equal to giving an analysis of Robinson Crusoe, and so we forbear. We may state, however, that this volume gives what earlier accounts could not, namely, a statement of the incidents connected with the removal of the Pitcairners to Norfolk Isle, from where a portion of the people returned to their former abode, which they prized above all else, and where they probably are to-day. The future of Pitcairn will doubtless possess some of the interest which pertains to its past: and the reports from that isolated island which from time to time are furnished by whalers, will be read and received with the utmost eagerness.

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL. Three Discourses. By George Jarvis Geer, D.D. New York. S. R. Wells. 1871.

This little book shows first in a satisfactory way the relation of St. Paul's conversion to unbelief; second, the false and true uses of the subject, and third, its relation to the Church. The first two chapters will give more general satisfaction than the last, which presents what many will find a stumbling-block. With a congregation fully instructed in the author's views there would be no misconception, but general readers in whose hands this little work may fall, will read some of the strong statements with surprise.

BY THE SEA. By Mrs. Sophronia Carrier, author of "Alice Tracy." New York. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1871.

This story has not sufficient merit to justify discussion; though we concede to its author excellent intentions. In invention it is not strong, in expression it is not clear, and prayers of the Dead are oddly jumbled up with the Puritan "Sabbath." Still we have

gone through the book with pleasure, observing the course of the author's thought, with something of the same psychological interest that a fisherman takes in the movements of a hooked trout when he does not know where the creature is going to bring up.

SHILOH; or WITHOUT AND WITHIN. By W. M. L. Jay. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1871.

At this late day, after so many (evidently not partial) critics have said so many extravagant things in favor of this book, our praise may appear faint. It is made what it is by the book itself, which nevertheless has an advantage in coming to us at a time when church circles are everywhere deluged with trash, thus appearing all the better by contrast. Still we are thankful for this contrast, presented everywhere in the author's neatly finished pictures of New England life,—a life which will never lose its charm.

The chief merit of "Shiloh" is after all, perhaps, to be found in its usefulness. It is shaped out of serviceable and enduring materials, and is therefore well calculated for a place in those parochial and missionary collections which admit the forms of fiction as a vehicle for truth. Indeed we should be slow to take any other view of a work written professedly in the interest of Christian principles and duty. Good English, and general attractiveness are valuable accessories, but still only accessories. The Church needs practical performance. This we have in Shiloh, which will encourage individuals and parishes wherever read, and help them to work out the ever present issues of life.

THE APPLE CULTURIST. A complete Treatise for the practical Pomologist. To aid in Propagating the Apple, and cultivating and managing Orchards. Illustrated with engravings of Fruit, young and old Trees, and mechanical devices employed in connection with orchards, and the management of Apples. By Sereno Edwards Todd. New York. Harper & Bro. 1871.

This great primal and almost universal fruit, the apple, can never lose its place in history. Every generation that rolls by, finds it more and more a subject of close study and abounding wealth. And if he is a benefactor of society who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, what shall we



say of him who causes the barren apple-tree to bloom, and at last groan under the weight of ripe, mellow fruit? Mr. Todd evidently is a co-worker with nature in the production of such results. At least we may judge so from his book, which shows a life-long acquaintance with all those subjects, concerning which the title page is a sort of note-of-hand. This book is not by any means a dry treatise, but is as juicy as the noble fruit, to the welfare and advancement of which, it is enthusiastically devoted. The illustrations are numerous and excellent, and a fruit grower must know a great deal in order to afford to go without it.

**THE KINDERGARTEN.** A Manual for the Introduction of Fröbel's System of Primary Education into Public Schools; and for the use of Mothers and Private Teachers. By Dr. Adolf Doudi. New York: E. Sterger. 1871.

The Kindergarten is the Children's Garden, or Child's World, a creation better known as an organized romp. This system introduced from Germany a little more than ten years ago, is now winning its way all over the land. The system of instruction runs parallel with those generally applied to adult minds, and yet does not deprive the child of his beautiful and harmonious infancy, but rather lengthens its term.

Of course, the only criticism that can materially help this book, must come from a practical educator, familiar with its advantages and defects. Yet, from an examination of the work, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the system is eminently adapted to its end. Dr. Doudi has given, within a convenient compass, a hand-book of the subject, and those who are ignorant of the method may easily acquire it with such assistance.

**WINDFALLS.** By the author of Aspects of Humanity. *Forma mentis fugax*. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1871.

**SOBER THOUGHTS ON STAPLE THEMES.** By Richard Randolph. Same Publishers. 1871.

These two volumes are similar in character and design, and are made up of brief compositions in prose and verse. We give the author credit for considerable reading, and the best of intentions, together with an occasional success in the composition of an essay.

But having said this we must say no more, except, perhaps, that on the whole, *both* volumes are entitled to the same designation, namely, untimely "Windfalls."

FAIR FRANCE. Impressions of a Traveler. By the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." New York: Harper & Bro. 1871.

To one who has never read anything on similar subjects, this book will prove a fair entertainment; yet all should be warned who take it up expecting to find its pages flashing with interest like those of "John Halifax." It is a book of travel, very much like a hundred others, conceived and executed in a mediocre style. No harm would have been done, if it had never been printed; yet, as it has actually been published, many will want to hear what so popular a writer has to say. It is true that Bismarck has spoiled the title, and the French in their madness have done all in their power to stereotype the remaining mutilation, yet the impressions of the tourist of 1867 remain, and may be taken for what they are worth.

A MEMOIR OF THE REV. JOHN EATON SMITH, M.A., Late Rector of the Memorial Church of the Holy Trinity, Westport, Connecticut. By E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D. Cambridge: Riverside Press.

This tasteful memoir was prepared for circulation privately among relatives and personal friends. We need, therefore, say no more than that it forms a fitting tribute to the character and the virtues of the deceased.

THE WONDERS OF ENGRAVING. By George Duplessis. New York: Scribner & Co. 1871.

This is one of the volumes of the "Library of Wonders," which is now doing so much towards the diffusion of useful knowledge. This little book, which is profusely illustrated, takes up the history of engraving, and shows its rise, progress, and actual achievements in those countries where the art has been cultivated. Being designed for general readers, the work does not treat of remote questions, but simply gives that information which every intelligent person desires to obtain. The style of the writer is agreeable, and the illustrations are fair.

TREATISE ON REGENERATION. By William Anderson, LL. D. Glasgow. New York. A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 770 Broadway.

The first two chapters in this book seem to contain all the offence of the popular theory of regeneration. But in the chapters following, there are indications of a discernment of some difficulties which this doctrine works in spiritual experience; and in the last section we have a healthy sermon for those spiritual disorders which the first two chapters would tend to produce.

In the theory of Regeneration, which he assures us has in it "no mystery" whatever, the author makes much of the words, "Except a man be born again;" but does not once notice, "Except a man be born of *water and of the Spirit*." Hence, his reasoning is very narrow, and indicates no acquaintance with the views of those differing from him. He confounds Regeneration with sanctification, and hardly recognizes a Kingdom of God on earth. He gives to the verse, "Except a man be born again, he cannot enter the Kingdom of heaven," the meaning, "Except a man become holy, he cannot enter the heaven which follows the Judgment day."

He locates the change of Regeneration not in the faculties of the understanding, but in the passions and affections. Yet in another chapter he confines the *immediate* result of the Holy Spirit in Regeneration, not to the *disposition*, but to the simple *belief* of the mind, and then resulting from this new belief or faith which the Spirit works, is the change in the disposition or passions he calls regeneration. It seems to Dr. Anderson, a serious error if one give the term Regeneration to that first or *immediate* work of the Spirit on the *faith*, rather than to its secondary appearance or result in the affections. Regeneration has no mystery in it, but this inspiring work of the Spirit in producing faith is all mystery.

Since the theory of the author excludes all infants and young children from heaven, he devises a second kind of regeneration radically different from that for adults. The Regeneration of infants consists in "a restoration to their minds of the connection of the Spirit which will ensure a holy exercise of the powers of their mind when they become capable of moral receptions and affections."

Whenever this connection may be established, "he is certain of

this only, that it is not effected by any sort of water Baptism." It may be effected "in the womb," and more probably "in the moment of death." If any mock at the mystery herein implied, Dr. Anderson charges them with limiting the power of God's grace—and strange it is, he seems to see not that he is guilty of just this error of limiting God's grace in denying its possible operation in water baptism.

Would it be possible, more openly to show his prejudice and weakness than in such statements? We have the Sacrament of Baptism instituted by Christ Himself, with all the outward appearance of being appointed as a chief instrumentality in the bestowal of His renewing grace—and this man says that he can allow this renewing or restoring grace to be imparted at any other time, rather than in this Sacrament.

HYMNS AND MEDITATIONS. By Miss A. L. Waring. With an introduction by the Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, D. D. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1871.

Miss Waring is a devotional writer, whose works now possess a recognized value. Her poems are marked by a high tone of spiritual thought, combined with pure feeling and a refined taste. She sings of submission to God; of the unfolding of endless life in Him; of a heart at leisure from itself; of the soul surrounded by rocks of defence; and of calmly learning her own weakness. The present edition is neat and serviceable.

THE TRUE MARY. Being Mrs. Browning's Poem "The Virgin Mary to the Child Jesus," with comments and notes. Edited by W. A. Muhlenberg. New York: Thos. Whittaker. 1871.

The editor of the volume prefers Mrs. Browning's portrait of Mary, before the Madonnas of Raphael or Correggio. This effort is in the interest of the poetess, and comes from one of the Sisters of St. Luke's Hospital. There will never be an end of opinions in connection with the subject, yet, those who collect its literature will be glad to possess this tasteful *brochure*.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE HOLY BIBLE, according to the authorized Version, with an explanatory and critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops, and other Clergy of the Anglican Church.

Edited by T. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. I., Part I., Genesis—Exodus. New York, Charles Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1871.

NOTES EXPLANATORY AND PRACTICAL ON THE GOSPELS, IN TWO VOLUMES. Vols. I and II. Also on the Acts of the Apostles in one volume, and on the Epistle to the Romans in one Volume. By Albert Barnes, Author of Notes on the Psalms, &c. Revised Edition. New York, Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, Compiled from his Family Letters and Reminiscences. By his great-grand-daughter, Sarah H. Randolph. New York, Harper & Brothers. 1871.

THE PRINCIPLES OF CHURCH HISTORY. By the Rev. David D. Van Antwerp, A.M. Vol. II. Brooklyn, Edward F. De Selding, 267 Fulton Street. 1871.

THE STUDENT'S ELEMENTS OF GEOLOGY. By Sir Charles Lyell, Bart. F.R.S., with more than 600 illustrations on wood. New York, Harper & Brothers. 1871.

KING ARTHUR, A POEM. By Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton. Harper & Brothers. 1871.

GOD'S RESCUES, OR THE LOST SHEEP, THE LOST COIN, THE LOST SON. By William R. Williams. New York. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1871.

THE TRUE SITE OF CALVARY, AND SUGGESTIONS RELATING TO THE RESURRECTION. By Fisher Howe. Author of Oriental and Sacred Scenes, with an illustrative Map of Jerusalem. New York. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1871.

FIRST LESSONS IN COMPOSITION. By John S. Hart, LL.D. Philadelphia. Eldridge & Brothers. 1871.

THE MISSION OF THE SPIRIT! OR THE OFFICE AND WORK OF THE COMFORTER IN HUMAN REDEMPTION. By Rev. L. R. Dunn. New York. Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

M. TULLII CICERONIS, CATO MAJOR DE SENECTUTE, LÆLIUS DE AMICITIA, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES. By E. P. Crowell, Moore Professor of Latin, and H. B. Richardson, Instructor in Amherst College. Philadelphia. Eldridge & Brothers. 1871.

THE GATES AJAR. Critically Examined. By a Dean. London. Hatchards, Piccadilly. 1871.

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL, TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH. By John P. Lacroix, Professor in the Ohio Wesleyan University. New York. Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT, INTENDED FOR POPULAR USE. By D. D. Whedon, LL.D. Vol. III. Acts—Romans. New York. Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

A SMALLER SCRIPTURE HISTORY IN THREE PARTS. Edited by William Smith, D.C.L. New York. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1871.

OUR FAMILY LIKENESS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF OUR ORIGIN AND DESCENT. By The Dean of Carlisle. London. Hatchards, Piccadilly, W. 1871.

SOPHOCLES, EX-NOVISSIMA RESCENSIMA GULIELMI DINDORFII. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1871.

JURISDICTION AND MISSION OF THE ANGLICAN EPISCOPATE. By the Rev. T. J. Bailey, B.A. C. C. Coll, Cambridge. Author of a "Defence of Holy Orders," &c. London. J. & J. H. Parker, 337 Strand. New York. Pott & Amery. 1871.

THE HISTORY OF ROME. By Titus Livius. Vols. I & II. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1871.

REIN-DEER, DOGS, AND SNOW-SHOES. A Journal of Siberian Travel and Explorations, made in the years 1865, 1866, and 1867. By Richard J. Bush. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1871.

LITTLE SUNSHINE'S HOLIDAY. By the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." New York. Harper & Brothers. 1871.

THE COUSIN FROM INDIA. A Book for Girls. By Georgiana M. Craik. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1871.

LITTLE GEMS FOR LITTLE PEOPLE. Compiled by S. H. Peirce. Philadelphia. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1871.

THE KING'S GODCHILD, AND OTHER TALES. By M. A. T. Philadelphia. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1871.

## MAGAZINES &amp; PAMPHLETS.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND ARTS. Editors and Proprietors, Profs. James, D. Dana, and B. Silliman. Associate Editors, Profs. Asa Gray, and Wolcott Gibbs, of Cambridge, and Profs. H. A. Newton, S. W. Johnson, Geo. J. Brush, and A. E. Verrill, of New Haven. Third Series, Vol. II. (whole No. CII.) No. 9, Sept. 1871. New Haven: Little, Moorehouse & Taylor.

THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW. September, 1871. Edited by Charles Hodge, D.D., and Lyman Atwater, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway.

THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW. Columbia, S. C. July, 1871.

THE NEW ENGLANDER. Edited by Profs. Geo. P. Fisher, and Timothy Dwight, and William L. Kingsley. Sept., 1871. New Haven: Little, Moorehouse & Taylor.

THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY. July, 1871. Philadelphia. 530 Arch St.

THE CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY. July, 1871. R. W. Carroll & Co., Cincinnati.

THE THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM. A Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly. July, 1871. T. C. Blake, D.D., Editor. Nashville, Tenn.

THE CONGREGATIONAL REVIEW. Bi-monthly. Sept. 1871. G. S. T. Savage, 84 Washington St., Chicago.

THE CHURCHMAN'S MAGAZINE. Sept. 1871. Hamilton, Ontario: Lawson, McCulloch & Co.

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD. Sept. 1871. New York. 47, Bible House.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE. August, 1871. London: John & Charles Mozley, 6, Paternoster Row.

THE CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE. Sept. 1871. Church Book Society, 713 Broadway, N. Y.

THE CHURCH REGISTER. Sept. 1871. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.



